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INTRODUCTION

This resource guide is intended for teachers of Ontario Ojibwe and Cree. Its purpose is to organize, extend, and reinforce teachers' knowledge of the language patterns that occur in these Native languages, and to clarify and explain the structure and function of the various language elements (words and word parts) that make up these patterns. It is hoped that teachers will find the guide helpful in developing lessons and in evaluating teaching materials for their usefulness in fostering accuracy in the use of language and an understanding of the language patterns that characterize this group of Native languages. The resource guide is not suitable for use as a textbook by students of Ojibwe or Cree; it does not present the various language structures in a learning sequence, and the technical terms used to describe the language are not always appropriate for classroom use.

It should be noted that this resource guide does not represent an exhaustive study of the language patterns in Ojibwe and Cree. A complete language-pattern guide would go into far more detail and have many more examples than are given here. Only the main word and sentence patterns are included. Ojibwe and Cree are rich and complex languages, and the task of describing how the words and word parts fit together is only in the early stages. Teachers will no doubt recognize and use many of the language patterns discussed here, but they will themselves need to continue to explore language patterns as they develop their lessons and plan their teaching.

This resource guide presents classes of words and examines the units or parts of which words are composed, the ways in which words change their forms when used in sentences, and the ways in which words combine with other words to form language structures that convey meaning. It also explores the patterns in which these language

structures occur in phrases and sentences. Examples are given in three Ontario languages, in the following sequence unless otherwise noted:

CO Central Ojibwe-Odawa (Ottawa), the language called Nishnaabemwin, as spoken on Manitoulin Island

WO Western Ojibwe, the language called Anishinaabemowin, as spoken at Lac Seul

SC Swampy Cree, the language called Ininîmowin, as spoken at Fort Albany and Constance Lake

The many other varieties of Ojibwe and Cree spoken in Ontario are equally important, but it is not possible to give examples in all varieties. Speakers of these other varieties will usually find the principle discussed relevant to their own way of speaking, although the words and the arrangement of the words may be different. They should examine the examples given and determine whether the pattern discussed occurs in the same form in their own language. It should be pointed out that the examples do not represent the only correct way of speaking; teachers should teach the words, word patterns, and sentence patterns that they and other model speakers in their community use.

The roman writing systems (orthographies) used in this resource guide are the standardized systems used in teacher-training courses in Ontario. A syllabic orthography has been added for the Cree examples. It should be noted that the orthographies employed here are not the only ones that can be used for these languages.

1

Parts of Speech

The parts of speech (classes of words) are nouns, pronouns, verbs, and particles, which include quantifiers, adverbs, and conjunctions. These parts of speech can be divided into several subclasses.

1.1 Nouns

Nouns name things, beings, and abstractions.

CO wiigwaam — house
WO waakaa'igan
SC wâskâhikan
ᐐᐢᑳᑲᐦᐃᑲᐣ

CO nimosh — dog
WO animosh
SC atim
ᐊᑎᒼ

CO zaag'iwewin — love
WO zaagi'iwewin
SC sâkihiwewin
ᓵᐱᐦᐃᐧᐃᐧᐣ

Nouns are inflected; that is, they take on affixes – prefixes and/or suffixes – that give grammatical information about them. For example, affixes can indicate whether a noun is animate or inanimate (gender), whether it is plural (number), and how it is related to other parts of a phrase or sentence (e.g., obviative or locative form).

1.2 Pronouns

1.3 *Nominal Pronouns*

Nominal pronouns refer to nouns or stand in place of nouns.

CO wenesh — who
WO awenen
SC awenihkân
ᐊᐧᐁᓂ"ᑲᐣ

Nominal pronouns can be inflected in Cree and in some varieties of Ojibwe.

1.4 *Personal Pronouns*

Personal pronouns stand in place of persons or nouns and indicate the various roles taken in speech. The three grammatical persons represented by personal pronouns – the first person (*I*), the second person (*you*), and the third person (*he/she/it*) – indicate the relationship in which the person referred to stands with respect to the speaker. The first person is the person speaking, the second person is the person spoken to, and the third person is the person spoken of.

CO nii — I, the one speaking
WO niin
SC nîna
ᓂᐢ

1.5 *Demonstrative Pronouns*

Demonstrative pronouns can be used with nouns or can stand in place of nouns and are used to point out or designate specific persons or things.

CO wi — that (thing)
WO iwe
SC anima
ᐊᓂᒪ

Demonstrative pronouns change form to agree with the nouns to which they refer.

1.6 Verbs

Verbs refer to states of being (condition, quantity, etc.) or to actions.

CO mchaa — it is big
WO michaa
SC mišâw
ᒥᓵᐏ

CO ndaabjitoon — I use it
WO nindaabajitoon
SC nitâpacihtân
ᓂᑖᐸᒋᐦᑖᐣ

Verbs, like nouns, are inflected, taking on affixes that convey grammatical information. For example, the affixes on a verb can indicate number, tense (the time of the action), and the relationship of the verb to other parts of a phrase or sentence.

1.7 Particles

Particles are uninflected words and can be divided into several subclasses.

1.8 *Quantifiers*

Quantifiers describe number or quantity.

CO aanind — some, a few
WO aaninda
SC âtiht
ᐊᑎᐦᐟ

CO niizh — two
WO niizhin
SC nîšo
ᓂᔅᐝ

1.9 *Adverbs*

Adverbs specify such things as time, place, manner, or degree.

CO ggizheb — in the morning
WO gizheb
SC kekišep
ᑫᑭᔅᐱᐟ

CO gojiing — outside
WO agwajiing
SC wanawîtimihk
ᐧᐊᓐᐧᐃᑎᒥᐠ

CO aapji — very, really
WO aapiji
SC mitoni
ᒥᑐᓂ

1.10 *Conjunctions*

Conjunctions are connective words used to join together sentences, clauses, phrases, or words.

CO giishpin — if
WO giishpin
SC kišâspin
ᑭᓵᐟᐱᐣ

1.11 *Other Particles*

Some particles always occur in a certain position. For example, the question particle is used with questions that are typically answered with *yes* or *no* and appears after the first word in a sentence.

CO na
WO na
SC nâ
ᓇ

2

Inside Words: Inflection and Derivation

2.1 Word Parts

Many Cree and Ojibwe words are complex in construction, consisting of several parts, each of which has a meaning or function. In nouns and verbs, the core part of a word – the part that carries the basic meaning of the word – is called a *word stem*. To this stem may be added inflectional *affixes*, known as *inflections*, which give additional grammatical information about the word. (Such grammatical information can include, where applicable, gender, person, number, and the relationship in which the inflected word stands to other words or phrases in the sentence.) Affixes that are added to the front of the stem are known as *prefixes*; those that are added after the stem are known as *suffixes*. The suffixes merge together to form an *ending*. The overall pattern of an inflected noun or verb is shown in the following word diagram:

inflectional prefixes	+	WORD STEM	+	inflectional suffixes (word ending)

In the following example, the stem is preceded by a prefix and followed by two suffixes:

CO gjiimaanwaan
= g + jiimaan + waa + n
you + boat + more than one of you + more than one thing
= your boats

WO gijiimaaniwaan
=gi + jiimaan + iwaa + n

SC kicîmâniwâwa
= ki + cîmân + iwâw + a

ᑭᒋᒪᓂᐧᐊᐧᐊ
= ᑭ + ᒋᒪᐣ + ᐃᐧᐊᐧᐊᐤ + ᐊ

In this case, the word stem can also occur as an independent word – the singular form of *boat*:

CO	jiimaan	boat
WO	jiimaan	
SC	cîmân	
	ᒋᒪᐣ	

A word stem does not always constitute an independent word. The following example is made up of a prefix, a stem, and an ending, but the stem does not constitute a word that can stand alone:

CO	nwaabndaan	I see it
	= n + waabnd + aan	
WO	niwaabandaan	
	= ni + waaband + aan	
SC	niwâpahten	
	= ni + wâpaht + en	
	ᓂ·ᐁᐸᐦᑌᐣ	
	= ᓂ + ·ᐁᐸᐦᐟ + ᐁᐣ	

2.2 Inflection

Many affixes are inflections, or word parts that indicate the grammatical categories of the language. These categories are the organizing ideas of the language. The inflections that express them transmit information (who is involved? how many? when?) and tie words together in phrases, clauses, or sentences. In Cree and Ojibwe, grammatical categories such as gender, number, person, and obviation and the inflectional affixes that represent them are essential aspects of nearly every sentence.

Much of what is indicated in English by the position of words in a sentence is shown in Cree and Ojibwe by inflection – that is, by the change in the form of a word through the addition of affixes.

The following examples are different forms of the same word; they share the same word stem but have different inflections.

CO	nokii/nakii	he/she works
	ndankii	I work
	nokiikan/nakiikan	do some work later
	ji-nokiiwaad/ji-nakiiwaad	. . . so they will work
WO	anokii	he/she works
	nindanokii	I work
	anokiikan	do some work later
	ji-anokiiwaad	. . . so they will work

SC	atoskew ᐊᐁᐢᕽ	he/she works
	nitatoskân ᓂᑕᐁᐢᑲᐣ	I work
	atoskehkan ᐊᐁᐢᕿᐦᑲᐣ	do some work later
	kici-atoskecik ᑭᒋ ᐊᐁᐢᐧᒋᒡ	. . . so they will work

2.3 Derivation

Word stems may also be made up of parts that have meaning. If one examines a group of words related in meaning, one finds that certain parts appear again and again, retaining the same basic meaning. For example, many words that refer to *bursting* or *exploding* begin with the same part as the word stem meaning *to shoot something*.

CO	baashkz-, as in the word wbaashkzaan	he/she shoots it
WO	baashkiz-, as in the word obaashkizaan	
SC	pâskis-, as in the word pâskisam ᓵᐢᑭᐢ, as in the word ᓵᐢᑭᔦᐢ	

The last part of the stem, the *z* or *s* part, is common to many words referring to heat or fire. Neither of these two parts is a word by itself, but together the word parts for *burst* or *explode* and *by heat* or *by fire* make up a word stem. This process of putting together parts to make word stems is called *derivation*.

In Ojibwe and Cree, word stems may be derived from other word stems by the addition of special derivational affixes, usually suffixes. For example, by adding the suffix **-ge/-ke** to the stems in the above examples, one gets another word, a verb that means *to shoot things*, which has different inflections.

CO	baashkzige-, as in the word baashkzige	he/she shoots things
WO	baashkizige-, as in the word baashkizige	
SC	pâskisike-, as in the word pâskisikew ᓵᐢᑭᓰᑫ , as in the word ᓵᐢᑭᓰᑫᐧ	

Derived stems can change word class. Noun stems can be made out of the verb stems above by the addition of various derivational suffixes.

CO baashkzigan — gun
WO baashkizigan
SC pâskisikan
ᐸᐢᑭᓯᑲᐣ

These noun stems with verb stems within them can be bases for further verbs, as illustrated below:

CO wbaashkzigani-, as in the word baashkzigani — he/she has a gun
WO obaashkizigani-, as in the word obaashkizigani
SC opâskisikani-, as in the word opâskisikaniw
ᐅᐸᐢᑭᓯᑲᓂ, as in the word
ᐅᐸᐢᑭᓯᑲᓂᐤ

(It should be noted that the third-person prefix **w-**, which appears at the beginning of the verb in the first Central Ojibwe example, is often unpronounced or deleted owing to pronunciation rules. It appears in certain other examples in this document, but should be considered optional.)

Understanding and using word stems in the correct inflected forms are essential skills that learners of Cree and Ojibwe must master.

3

NOUNS

3.1 The Form of a Noun

Every noun contains a *noun stem* – a core part that carries the basic meaning of the word. To this stem can be added prefixes and/or suffixes, known as *inflections*, which give additional grammatical information about the noun – for example, its gender, number, and relationship to other words or phrases in the sentence. The overall pattern of an inflected noun is shown in the following word diagram:

inflectional prefixes	+	NOUN STEM	+	inflectional suffixes (noun ending)

Words that share a common stem but have different inflections are considered different forms of the same noun. To illustrate the principle, a few of the many forms that the noun *boat* can take are given below.

CO	jiimaan	boat	jiimaanan	boats
WO	jiimaan		jiimaanan	
SC	cîmân		cîmâna	
	ᒋᐦᒪᐣ		ᒋᐦᒪᓇ	
CO	gjiimaaning	in your boat	njiimaannaa	our boat
WO	gijiimaaning		nijiimaaninaan	
SC	kicîmânihk		nicîmâninân	
	ᑭᒋᐦᒪᓂᐦ�perhaps		ᓂᒋᐦᒪᓂᓇᐣ	

In this resource guide, the singular form of a noun is considered to be its stem.

3.2 Inflection

3.3 *Basic Categories*

The basic grammatical categories indicated by inflections are gender, number, obviation, and the locative form. One or more of these can be indicated by a single basic suffix added to the noun stem. The form of a word that is in agreement with the noun in the sentence also indicates some of these categories.

3.4 Gender

Nouns have gender. In Ojibwe and Cree, all nouns belong to one of two classes of gender – *animate* or *inanimate*. Nouns referring to people, animals, trees, and spirits belong to the animate class of nouns. Some non-living things are also included in the animate class, although most nouns referring to non-living things are classified as inanimate.

From the learner's point of view, the gender of a noun is often unpredictable and puzzling. For example, while it is easy enough to understand why such words as *dog* and *birch tree* are animate, it is difficult to understand why *star, mitt, ice*, and *net* are animate and *earth, shoe, water*, and *boat* inanimate.

A noun and any demonstrative that accompanies it must agree in gender. Thus a demonstrative used with an animate noun must be in the animate gender; a demonstrative used with an inanimate noun must be in the inanimate gender. This means that the gender of a noun is shown by the form of the words that are in agreement with it. Once students are familiar with the forms of demonstratives, they will be able to determine the gender of unfamiliar nouns by looking at the demonstratives that modify them.

	Animate Nouns		*Inanimate Nouns*	
CO	wa nini	that man	wi mkizin	that shoe
WO	awe inini		iwe makizin	
SC	ana nâpew		anima maskisin	
	ᐊᓇ ᓇᐯᐤ		ᐊᓂᒪ ᒪᐢᑭᓯᓂ	

Verbs also take on different inflections to show agreement with nouns. In the examples below, the form of *I see* varies in accordance with the gender (animate or inanimate) of the noun involved.

CO	Kwezens nwaabmaa.	I see a girl.
WO	Ikwezens niwaabamaa.	
SC	Iskwešiš niwâpamâw.	
	ᐃᐢᑫᔅᓭᐢ ᓂᐧᐊᐸᒪᐤ.	
CO	Jiimaan nwaabndaan.	I see a boat.
WO	Jiimaan niwaabandaan.	
SC	Cîmân niwâpahten.	
	ᒋᒪᐣ ᓂᐧᐊᐸᐦᑌᐣ.	

3.5 Number

Nouns have number; that is, they can be either singular or plural. The plural is formed by the addition of a suffix to the stem.

	Animate Singular		*Animate Plural*	
CO	kwe	woman	kwewag	women
WO	ikwe		ikwewag	
SC	iskwew		iskwewak	
	ᐃᐢᑫᐧᐁᐤ		ᐃᐢᑫᐧᐁᐧᐊᐠ	
	Inanimate Singular		*Inanimate Plural*	
CO	wiikwaan/ wiiwkwaan	hat	wiikwaanan/ wiiwkwaanan	hats
WO	aanakwaan		aanakwaanan	
SC	astotin		astotina	
	ᐊᐢᑐᑎᐣ		ᐊᐢᑐᑎᓇ	

The plural form of a noun shows not only number but also gender; different suffixes are used to indicate the plural of animate and inanimate nouns. In Ojibwe, the animate plural suffix ends in **-g** and the inanimate plural suffix ends in **-n**. In Cree, the animate plural suffix ends in **-k** and the inanimate plural suffix ends in **-a**. The actual form of each plural suffix varies from noun stem to noun stem. Most stems require a connective between the stem and the last sound of the suffix. The form that these connectives take also varies from noun stem to noun stem; for example, each of the Ojibwe noun stems below – except the first

noun stem, which requires no connective – has its distinctive connective: **a**, **wa**, **o**, **ii**, **oo**. Similarly, the Cree examples use either **a** or **wa**, or require no connective.

CO	mko/mkwa	bear	mkog/mkwag	bears
WO	makwa		makwag	
SC	maskwa		maskwak	
	ᒪᐢᑲ		ᒪᐢᑲᐠ	
CO	gwiizens/ gwiiwzens	boy	gwiizensag/ gwiiwzensag	boys
WO	gwiiwizens		gwiiwizensag	
SC	nâpešiš		nâpešišak	
	ᓇᐯᔅᐦ		ᓇᐯᔅᔭᐠ	
CO	ngig	otter	ngigwag/ ngigog	otters
WO	nigig		nigigwag	
SC	nikik		nikikwak	
	ᓂᑭᐠ		ᓂᑭᑲᐠ	
CO	sab	net	sabiig	nets
WO	asab		asabiig	
SC	anapiy		anapiyak	
	ᐊᓇᐱᐢ		ᐊᓇᐱᔾᐠ	
CO	mtig	tree	mtigoog	trees
WO	mitig		mitigoog	
SC	mistik		mistikwak	
	ᒥᐢᑎᐠ		ᒥᐢᑎᑲᐠ	

The form of a demonstrative and a verb will also indicate the number of the noun to which they refer. In the following sentences, all the words are tied together by number agreement as well as gender agreement.

Inanimate Singular

CO	Gnaajwan maanda mzin'igan.	This book is nice.
WO	Onizhishin owe mazina'igan.	
SC	Minwâšin ôma masinahikan.	
	ᒥᓀᐧᔅᐢ ᐅᒪ ᒪᓱᓀᐧᐣᐃᑲᐢ.	

Inanimate Plural

CO	Gnaajwanoon nanda mzin'ignan.	These books are nice.
WO	Onizhishinoon onowe mazina'iganan.	
SC	Minwâšinwa ôho masinahikana.	
	ᒥᓀᐧᔅᓭᐧ ᐅᐣᐅ ᒪᓱᓀᐧᐣᐃᑲᓀ.	

3.6 Obviation

Both Ojibwe and Cree distinguish between two third persons in a sentence or a narrative by means of a mechanism called *obviation*. In the sentence *John saw Fred*, for example, there are two third persons – *John* and *Fred*. When a sentence contains two third persons in this kind of grammatical relationship, one of them is seen as the main one and is called *proximate* (as if it were somehow closer to the interest of the speaker) and the other one is seen as secondary and is called *obviative*. The obviative noun takes on an obviative inflectional suffix that distinguishes it from the unmarked proximate third person. In the sentences below, the obviative ending on the noun is underlined.

CO Zhaanh gii-waabmaan Panaaswen. — John saw Fred.
WO John ogii-waabamaan Fredan.
SC Cwân kî-wâpamew Freda.
ᓯᒼ ᑭ ᐧᐊᐸᒣᐤ ᐸᐁᐦᑕ.

Since the grammatical relationship between the two nouns is indicated by their inflections and by the inflection on the verb, the word order can be varied without changing the essential meaning of the sentence, as is shown in these Western Ojibwe variations on the same sentence.

WO Ogii-waabamaan John Fredan. — John saw Fred.
John Fredan ogii-waabamaan.
Fredan John ogii-waabamaan.

When two third persons perform the same grammatical function – for example, when they are jointly the subject or object of a verb – they are both proximate or obviative, depending on their relationship to the other animate third person in the sentence. In the examples below, the two third persons are both subjects of the verb and proximate.

CO Zhaanh miinwaa Panaaswe gii-bmosewag miiknaang. — John and Fred were walking on the road.
WO John ya'aa dash Fred gii-bimosewag miikanaang.
SC Cwân Fred mâka kî-pimohtewak meskanâhk.
ᓯᒼ ᐸᐁᐦᑕ ᒪᑲ ᑭ ᐱᒧᐦᑐᐧᐊᐠ ᒣᐢᑲᓇᐦᒃ.

Once a particular third person has been marked as obviative, it can be referred to without being named or being confused with the proximate third person, as all the words that agree with it have an obviative inflection. Similarly, all the words that agree with the proximate noun have a

proximate inflection. Thus, while the sentence *John saw Fred as he was walking on the road* is ambiguous in English (it is not clear whether it was John or Fred who was doing the walking), it could not be so in Cree or Ojibwe because the suffix on the verb *was walking* would indicate which of the two third persons was performing the action. If the verb *was walking* referred to John, it would have a proximate suffix; if it referred to Fred, it would have an obviative suffix. In the examples below, the obviative suffixes are underlined.

CO	Zhaanh gii-waabmaan Panaaswen bmosed miiknaang.	John saw Fred as he (John) was walking on the road.
WO	John ogii-waabamaan Fredan e-bimosed miikanaang.	
SC	Cwân kî-wâpamew Freda e-pimohtet meskanâhk.	
	ᓚᐢ ᑭ ᐧᐊᐸᐣᐤ ᐸᐁᐢ ᐁ ᐱᒧᐤᐢ ᐣᐢᑲᓇᐦᒃ.	

CO	Zhaanh gii-waabmaan Panaaswen bmosenid miiknaang.	John saw Fred as he (Fred) was walking on the road.
WO	John ogii-waabamaan Fredan e-bimosenid miikanaang.	
SC	Cwân kî-wâpamew Freda e-pimohtenici meskanâhk.	
	ᓚᐢ ᑭ ᐧᐊᐸᐣᐤ ᐸᐁᐢ ᐁ ᐱᒧᐤᐢᓂᒋ ᐣᐢᑲᓇᐦᒃ.	

Demonstratives and verbs also indicate obviation; when they relate to a noun or pronoun that is obviative, they take on the obviative inflection.

	Proximate Form		*Obviative Form*	
CO	wa mooz	that moose	niw moozoon	that moose
WO	awe mooz		iniwe moozoon	
SC	awa môs		anihi môswa	
	ᐊᐧᐊ ᒧᐢ		ᐊᓂᐦᐁ ᒧᐢᐘᐧ	

In the first set of examples below, *older brother* is obviative because of its relationship to another animate noun or third person in the sentence – *Mary*. The verb has an obviative suffix to match the obviative suffix of *older brother*, the noun to which it refers. In the second set of examples, *older brother* has the function of the principal noun – that is,

it is not secondary to another third person but is possessed by a first person – and is therefore not in the obviative form.

CO Nbaawan Maaniinh wsayenyan. — Mary's older brother is sleeping.

WO Nibaawan Maanii osayenzan.
SC Nipâniwa Mânî ostesa.
ᓂᐸᓂᐊ ᒪᓂ ᐅᐢᑌᖅ.

CO Nbaa nsayenh. — My older brother is sleeping.
WO Nibaa nisayenz.
SC Nipâw nistes.
ᓂᐸᐤ ᓂᐢᑌᐢ.

In Central Ojibwe/Odawa and in Cree, an obviative noun does not show number; the singular and the plural forms are the same.

CO wsayenyan — his/her older brother(s)
SC ostesa
ᐅᐢᑌᖅ

In Western Ojibwe, the distinction is made between the singular and the plural of obviative nouns; animate nouns can take on either a singular or plural obviative suffix.

WO osayenzan — his/her older brother
WO osayenza' — his/her older brothers

As is the case with the plural suffixes, the actual form of the obviative suffix varies with each noun stem. The connective used for each stem is the same as that used for the plural form of that stem.

In Cree and in some varieties of Ojibwe, a singular inanimate noun can also occur with an obviative inflection. In Cree the inanimate obviative suffix ends in **-niw**.

SC Cwân petâw kîškipocikaniniw. — John is bringing a saw.
ᓬᐣ ᐯᒋᐤ ᐱᔭᑭᒃᑲᓂᓂᐤ.

3.7 Locative Form

The locative form of a noun is used to express ideas of location. The locative form is indicated by a suffix.

	Noun Stem		*Locative Form*	
CO	aakziiwgamig	hospital	aakziiwgamg<u>oong</u>	to/at/in the
WO	aakoziiwigamig		aakoziiwigamig<u>ong</u>	hospital
SC	âhkosîwikamik		âhkosîwikamik<u>ohk</u>	
	ᐋᐦᑯᓯᐏᑲᒥᐠ		ᐋᐦᑯᓯᐏᑲᒥᑯᕽ	

As is the case with the other basic suffixes, the actual form of the locative suffix varies from noun stem to noun stem. Each stem requires a particular connective sound between the stem and the last part of the suffix (see section 3.5); for example, in the word used above, the proper connective sound is **oo** (for Central Ojibwe) or **o** (for Western Ojibwe and Cree) between the stem and the last part of the suffix, which is **-ng** (for Ojibwe) or **-hk** (for Cree).

3.8 *Inflection for Person*

3.9 Possessed Nouns

Nouns can also be inflected with one or more affixes to indicate a grammatical relationship of possession. The inflected noun, which can be a person or thing, is referred to as *the possessed noun*; the person or being reflected in the possessed noun's inflectional affixes is referred to as *the possessor*. The possessor is shown by a personal prefix or a personal prefix and personal suffix added to the possessed noun. In the example below, the possessed noun *boat* has been formed by adding a personal prefix, which indicates that the possessor is the speaker, to the stem *boat*:

CO	n<u>j</u>iimaan	my boat
WO	n<u>in</u>jiimaan	
SC	n<u>i</u>cîmân	
	ᓂᒋᒪᐣ	

The prefix, which always appears on a possessed noun, identifies the *person* of the possessor (see section 1.4 for an explanation of *person* as a grammatical category). In addition to the personal prefix, a possessed noun may have a basic suffix showing its gender, number, and, if applicable, obviative or locative form. In the following example, the basic suffix of the possessed noun is inanimate and plural:

CO	gmizna'gan<u>an</u>	your books
WO	g<u>i</u>mazina'igan<u>an</u>	
SC	k<u>i</u>masinahikan<u>a</u>	
	ᑭᒪᓯᓇᐦᐃᑲᓇᐢ	

A *personal suffix* may appear between the stem and the basic suffix to show that the possessor is plural or, if third person, obviative. In the example below, the noun ending has both a personal suffix and a basic suffix:

CO	gjiimaanwaan	you + boat + more than one
	= g + jiimaan + waa + n	of you + more than one
WO	gijiimaaniwaan	thing = your boats
	= gi + jiimaan + iwaa + n	
SC	kicîmâniwâwa	
	= ki + cîmân + iwâw + a	
	ᑭᒋᒪᓂᐧᐃᐧᐊ	
	= ᑭ + ᒋᒪᐣ + ᐃᐧᐃᐤ + ᐊ	

Some possessed nouns take on the possessive suffix **-(i)m** immediately after the stem but before any inflectional suffixes.

CO	ndishkodem	my fire
WO	nindishkodem	
SC	nitiškotem	
	ᓂᑎᐢᑯᑑᒼ	

The pattern of a possessed noun is given in the following diagram. Only the personal prefix will appear on every possessed noun.

personal prefix	+	NOUN STEM	+	possessive suffix	+	personal suffix	+	basic suffix

3.10 Dependent Nouns

In Cree and many varieties of Ojibwe, a group of nouns, which include the names of body parts and relatives, always appear in possessed form with a personal prefix. These nouns are known as *dependent nouns* because their stems cannot appear alone but only with a personal prefix or some other element.

CO	gnik	your arm
WO	ginik	
SC	kispiton	
	ᑭᐢᐱᑐᐣ	
CO	wmisenyan	his/her older sister
WO	omisenzan	
SC	omisa	
	ᐅᒥᓴ	

3.11 *Other Inflections*

3.12 Diminutive Nouns

A diminutive suffix can be added to a noun stem to indicate that the thing referred to is of small size relative to other items of its kind. (In some contexts, this suffix is treated as a derivational suffix.)

CO	mookmaanens	small table knife
WO	mookomaanens	
SC	môhkomânišiš	
	ᒧᐢᑯᒪᐣᐃᔅᐃᔅ	

3.13 Pejorative Nouns

A pejorative suffix can be added to a noun stem to indicate that the thing or the person named is in some way unsatisfactory or in disfavour. The pejorative suffix may also indicate affection.

CO	mookmaanish	useless table knife
WO	mookomaanish	
SC	môhkomâniškîš	
	ᒧᐢᑯᒪᐣᐃᔅᑮᐢ	

In Central Ojibwe, a particular pejorative suffix can be added to convey a feeling of comfortable familiarity.

CO	mookmaanenh	(good) old table knife

3.14 Preterit Nouns

A preterit suffix can be added to a noun stem to indicate past state or absence. For example, a preterit suffix added to a noun that refers to a person indicates that the person is deceased. In some varieties of Ojibwe, a preterit suffix added to a noun that refers to a thing indicates that the thing is missing or no longer usable.

CO	nmishoomsiban	my late grandfather
WO	nimishoomisiban	
SC	nimošômipan	
	ᓂᒧᔅᐅᒫᐢᐧᐸᐣ	
WO	odaabaaniban	the train that used to be, the thing that used to be a train
WO	nimashkimodiban	the bag I used to have, the thing that used to be my bag

3.15 Vocative Nouns

In formal speech, a vocative plural suffix may be added to the noun stem designating the group addressed. A basic suffix does not appear.

CO nishnaabedig	O, Native people
WO niidanishinaabedog	O, my fellow Natives
SC awâšišitok	O, children
ᐊᐧᐋᔆᔆᐣ	

There are special vocative forms used in addressing people by name or, in some cases, by designations indicating kinship. These often involve shortening the full word.

CO nmishoomis	my grandfather	nmishoo	grandpa (in address)
WO nimishoomis		shoomis	
SC nimošôm		mošôm	
ᓂᒪᔨᓵᒻ		ᒪᔨᓵᒻ	

Vocative forms are rare in some varieties of Ojibwe.

3.16 *Summary of Noun Inflections*

The typical order of the inflectional affixes on an inflected noun is indicated in the following word diagram. For a non-dependent noun, only the noun stem need appear; for a dependent noun, at least a personal prefix must occur with the stem.

personal prefix	+	NOUN STEM	+	diminutive suffix	+	possessive suffix	+	pejorative suffix		
+	personal suffix	+	preterit suffix	+	basic suffix	*or*	vocative plural suffix			

4

PRONOUNS

4.1 Nominal Pronouns

4.2 *Interrogative Pronouns*

Interrogative pronouns are used in questions that aim to ascertain the identity of a person or thing. In Cree and some varieties of Ojibwe, interrogative pronouns may be animate or inanimate, depending on whether the question refers to a person or thing, and can be inflected for number and obviation.

	Animate		*Inanimate*	
CO	wenesh	who	wenesh	what
WO	awenen		wegonen	
SC	awenihkân/ awena		kekwân/ kekwânihkân	
	ᐊᐧᐁᓂᐣ / ᐊᐧᐁᓇ		ᖳᑲᐣ / ᖳᑲᓂᐣ	

4.3 *Indefinite Pronouns*

Indefinite pronouns refer to unspecified persons or things.

In Cree and some varieties of Ojibwe, indefinite pronouns may be inflected with basic suffixes showing number and obviation.

	Animate		*Inanimate*	
CO	wiya	someone	gegoo	something
WO	awiya		gegoon	
SC	awenihkân		kekwân	
	ᐊᐧᐁᓂᐣ		ᖳᑲᐣ	

4.4 Alternative Pronouns

Cree and some varieties of Ojibwe have a pronoun meaning *another one* or *the other one*. This pronoun is known as the *alternative pronoun*.

Alternative pronouns are inflected with basic suffixes showing number, obviation, and the locative form.

WO	kotak	the other one, another one
SC	kotakiy/kotak	
	ᑯᑕᑭᐩ / ᑯᑕᒃ	

4.5 Intensive Pronouns

Intensive pronouns occur in Cree only. The intensive pronoun is used to focus on a noun, usually one previously mentioned. It is often used in conjunction with a demonstrative pronoun to add emphasis.

SC	ewako/ekwânima	the very one, the one previously mentioned
	∇·◁ᑯ / ∇·ᑲᓂᒪ	

4.6 Dubitative Pronouns

Dubitative pronouns, used in Ojibwe, express doubt or uncertainty about the identity of a being or thing.

	Animate Dubitative Pronoun		*Inanimate Dubitative Pronoun*	
CO	wegwen/ wegwenh/ wegwendig	whoever	wegwen/ wegwenh/ wegwendig	whatever
WO	awegwen		wegodogwen	

In some varieties of Ojibwe, dubitative pronouns are inflected with basic suffixes showing number and obviation.

4.7 Pausal Pronouns

Pausal pronouns are used as substitutes for nouns that the speaker cannot momentarily recall. Pausal pronouns are inflected like nouns.

	Animate Pausal Pronoun		*Inanimate Pausal Pronoun*	
CO	ya'aa	some being,	ya'ii	some thing,
WO	aya'aa	"what's-his-name"	aya'ii	"whatchamacallit"
SC	ayahâw		ayahîw	
	◁ᐩ◁ᐧ		◁ᐩᐃᐧ	

In Ojibwe, pausal pronouns can also be nouns themselves, often possessed or occurring with other affixes.

CO	nda'iiman	my stuff
WO	odaya'iiman	his stuff

4.8 *Other Nominal Pronouns*

Other nominal pronouns occur in Ojibwe and Cree and are used for a variety of functions – for example, to indicate that the person or thing referred to is of a certain type or that he/she/it is absent or missing.

CO	danow/danowa	this kind, a certain kind
WO	dinookaan	this kind, a certain kind
SC	awenipan	someone absent, something missing
	ᐊᐧᐁᓂᐸᐣ	

4.9 Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns refer to the various roles taken in speech. The first person is the speaker, the second person is the one addressed, and the third person is the one spoken of.

	First-Person Singular		*Second-Person Singular*		*Third-Person Singular*	
CO	nii/niin	I/me	gii/giin	you	wii/wiin	he/she
WO	niin		giin		wiin	
SC	nîna		kîna		wîna	
	ᓂᐢ		ᑭᐢ		ᐐᐢ	

There are two first-person plurals: the *exclusive plural*, which excludes the person addressed, and the *inclusive plural*, which includes the person addressed.

	First-Person Exclusive Plural		*First-Person Inclusive Plural*	
CO	niinwi	we/us, but	giinwi	we/us, including
WO	niinawind	not you	giinawind	you
SC	nînanân		kînanânaw/ kînânaw	
	ᓂᐢᓇᓇᐣ		ᑭᐢᓇᓇᓄᐧ / ᑭᐢᓇᐧ	

The other plural forms are the second- and third-person plural.

	Second-Person Plural		*Third-Person Plural*	
CO	giinwaa	you	wiinwaa	they/them
WO	giinawaa		wiinawaa	
SC	kînawâw		wînawâw	
	ᑭᓇᐧᐊᐤ		ᐐᓇᐧᐊᐤ	

4.10 Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns are used to point out or designate specific things or persons. They agree with the nouns to which they relate in gender, number, and obviation (for examples, see sections 3.4–3.6).

The two demonstrative pronouns most often used designate two distinct degrees of distance, corresponding roughly to the distinction between the English *this* and *that*. Further degrees of distance (*this one over here, that one over there,* etc.) can be expressed in some varieties of Ojibwe by other forms. The charts below are not comprehensive; they show the main forms, with some common variants, for the three languages covered.

Demonstrative Pronouns in Central Ojibwe/Odawa

	Animate		*Inanimate*	
	this/these	that/those	this/these	that/those
singular	maaba	wa	maanda	wi
plural	gonda	giw	nonda, nanda	niw
obviative	nonda, nanda	niw		

Another degree of distance may be expressed by the following forms: **wedi**, **giwedi**, **niwedi**; **wedi**, **niwedi**.

Demonstrative Pronouns in Western Ojibwe

	Animate		*Inanimate*	
	this/these	that/those	this/these	that/those
singular	wa'awe/wa'a	a'awe/awe/ a'a	o'owe/owe/ o'o	i'iwe/iwe/i'i
plural	ogowe/ogo/ ogoweniwag	igiwe/igi/ igiweniwag	onowe/ono/ onoweniwan	iniwe/ini/ iniweniwan
obviative singular	onowe/ono/ onoweniwan	iniwe/ini/ iniweniwan	o'oweni	i'iweni
obviative plural	onoweniwa'/ onowe/ono	iniweniwa'/ iniwe/ini	onoweniwan/ onowe/ono	iniweniwan/ iniwe/ini

Other degrees of distance may be expressed by adding **-di** to the forms above: **wa'awedi, ogowedi(g)**, etc.; **a'awedi (awedi)**, **igiwedi(g)**, **iniwedi(n)**, etc.

Demonstrative Pronouns in Cree

	Animate		*Inanimate*	
	this/these	that/those	this/these	that/those
singular	awa ◁·◁	ana ◁ᓇ	ôma ▷ᒪ	anima ◁σᒪ
plural	ôko/ôki ▷̇ᑯ / ▷̇ᑭ	aniki ◁σᑭ	ôho/ôhi ▷̇"▷ / ▷̇"△	anihi ◁σ"△
obviative singular obviative plural	ôho/ôhi ▷̇"▷ / ▷̇"△	anihi ◁σ"△	ômeniw ▷̇ᒣσ°	animeniw ◁σᒣσ°
			ôho/ôhi ▷̇"▷ / ▷̇"△	anihi ◁σ"△

Another degree of distance is expressed by the following: **naha**, **neki**, **nehi**; **nema**, **nehi**, **nemeniw**.

In Cree, the demonstrative pronoun may be combined with the intensive pronoun to add emphasis, as in the following example:

SC ekwânima = e(wa)ko + anima — that's the one

∇·ḃσᒪ = ∇·◁ᑯ + ◁σᒪ

5

Noun Phrases

A phrase consists of a group of words that are tied together in some way and that function as a unit in the structure of a sentence. A *noun phrase* usually consists of a noun that may or may not be accompanied by other words that modify it; this noun is commonly referred to as the *head noun*. In some contexts, the head noun may be missing and the noun phrase may consist only of one or more of the modifying words. In some cases, the entire noun phrase may be represented by a personal pronoun.

A noun phrase may contain another noun phrase serving as a possessor, or it may contain a subordinate clause functioning as a relative clause. Nouns within noun phrases may be linked by conjunctions.

A noun phrase is not a sentence in itself, but is often used alone in conversation as a fragment or as an answer to a question. Within sentences, noun phrases most often function as the subject or object of a verb. (Some verbs can have two objects.) The different parts of a noun phrase need not appear next to one another in a sentence.

5.1 Grammatical Components of Noun Phrases

5.2 *Noun in Noun Phrase*

A noun used alone can act as a noun phrase.

CO	Naadmawshin bkwezhgan.	Get me the bread.
WO	Aazha na gigii-waabamaa mashkikiiwinini.	Did you see the doctor yet?
SC	Nika-nâten cîmân. ᓂᑲ ᓇᑎᓐ ᒋᒫᐣ.	I'll get the canoe.

5.3 *Nominal Pronoun in Noun Phrase*

A nominal pronoun can act as a noun phrase.

CO Wenesh gaa-bi-zhaad noongo. — Who came today?
WO Giishpin andawendaman gegoon, wiindamawishinaam. — If you want anything, just tell us.
SC Kotakîniw kî-ošihtâw. — He fixed the other one.
ᑯᑕᑭᓂᐤ ᑭ ᐅᔨᐦᑕᐤ.

5.4 *Demonstrative Pronoun With Noun in Noun Phrase*

A demonstrative pronoun may modify a head noun, agreeing with it in number, gender, and obviation. The demonstrative may appear with the head noun or in place of it.

CO Aakzi wa kwezens. — That girl is sick.
WO Aandi gaa-ondinaman iwe. — Where did you get that?
SC Mînik awâšišak anihi masinahikana. — Give those books to the children.
ᒥᓂᒃ ᐊᐧᐊᔨᔩᒃ ᐊᓂᐦᐃ
ᒪᓯᓇᐦᐃᑲᓇ.

5.5 *Quantifier or Other Particle in Noun Phrase*

A quantifier or some other particle can act as a noun phrase or it can form part of a noun phrase.

CO Kina go naa gegoo miijim gii-te. — There were all kinds of food there.
WO Ninga-miinaa nishiimenz bangii. — I'm going to give my younger brother a little bit.
SC Nitayâwâwak âtiht atimwak. — I have several dogs.
ᓂᑕᔭᐧᐊᐧᐊᐠ ᐊᑎᑦ ᐊᑎᐧᒪᐠ.

5.6 *Personal Pronoun in Noun Phrase*

A personal pronoun used to provide emphasis can act as a noun phrase. It is often used with an emphatic particle or a conjunction.

CO Gdayekoz na gegii. — And you, are you tired, too?
WO Geniin bangii biidamawishin. — Bring me a little, too.
SC Kekwân mâka kîna kâ-petâyan. — What about you, what did you bring?
ᖾᑲᐣ ᒪᑲ ᑭᓇ ᑲ ᐯᑕᔭᐣ.

5.7 Noun Phrase As Possessor

Any type of noun phrase may appear as the possessor of a noun; the affixes on the possessed noun agree in person, number, and obviation with the noun or pronoun designating the possessor.

CO Binoojiinh wmakzin ngii-mkaan. — I found the baby's shoe.
WO Aandi gimisenz odaanakwaan. — Where's your sister's hat?
SC Kikî-otinamwân nâ Cwân omasinahikan. — Did you pick up John's book?
ᑭᑭ ᐅᑎᓇ-ᒐᐣ ᓇ ᐧᒋᐣ ᐅᒪᓭᓇ"ᐃᑲᐣ.

5.8 Relative Clauses

Relative clauses are clauses that modify noun phrases or stand for noun phrases. For a fuller discussion of the topic and further examples, see section 7.61.

CO Baatiinwag genwaabndigejig enji-niim'iding. — There are a lot of spectators at the dance.
WO Giinwaa gaa-gitimiyeg gawishimog. — You lazy ones, go to bed!
SC Niwî-mîcin kâ-atihteki. — I'll eat the ripe ones.
ᓂ·ᐃ ᑎᑭᐣ ᑲ ᐊᑎ"ᑌᑭ.

5.9 Conjoined Noun Phrases

5.10 *Noun Phrases With Conjunctions*

Noun phrases may be connected by conjunctions.

CO Maajiidoon waaboowaan miinwaa pikweshmowin. — Take along a blanket and a pillow.
WO Wii-gitigewag nisayenz owiiwan idash. — My older brother and his wife are going to plant a garden.
SC Nikî-mînâw šôniyân ašici mâka mîciminiw. — I gave him money and also food.
ᓂᑭ ᒥᓇᐤ ᓴᓂᔭᐣ ᐊᔑᒋ ᒪᑲ ᑎᑎᓂᐤ.

5.11 *Noun Phrases in Lists*

Noun phrases can be connected without the use of conjunctions.

CO	Wgii-biidoonaawaa kwa nwanj go gegoo, gnimaa zaasgokwaanan, naagnan, emkwaanan, mookmaanan.	They brought all kinds of things, such as frying pans, dishes, spoons, knives.
WO	Ningitigaadaanan noojigo bigo gegoonan, opiniin, okaadaakwag, oginiig, gichi-aniibiishan.	I'm planting all sorts of things – potatoes, carrots, tomatoes, cabbage.

6

VERBLESS SENTENCES

6.1 Equational Sentences

Equational sentences are sentences without verbs in which a noun phrase combines with another noun phrase to make a statement or ask a question concerning the identity of a person or thing.

6.2 *Equational Sentence With Demonstrative Pronoun*

One of the noun phrases in an equational sentence is usually a demonstrative pronoun; the other noun phrase is usually a noun but may contain a possessed noun with its possessor, as in the second set of examples below.

CO Waagaakwad maanda.	This is an axe.
WO Akikoog igiwe.	Those are pails.
SC Masinahikan ôma.	This is a book.
ᒪᓯᓇᐦᑳᓐ ᑭᒪ.	
CO Zhaanh wmakzinan niwi.	Those are John's shoes.
WO Mary iniweniwan odoodaabaanensiman.	That's Mary's car.
SC Nîna ôma nimetawâkan.	This is my toy.
ᓂᓇ ᑭᒪ ᓂᒉᑕᐘᑳᐦᐁᓐ.	

6.3 *Negative Equational Sentence*

In Ojibwe, an equational sentence may contain a negative particle.

CO Gaawii giin wi gmizna'gan.	That's not your book.
WO Gaawiin niin owe nimookomaan.	That's not my table knife.

6.4 *Equational Yes/No Question*

To ask a yes/no question, the question particle **na/nâ** is inserted in an equational statement.

CO	Esbikenh na maaba.	Is this a spider?
WO	Gitigaanan na iniwe.	Are those plants?
SC	Kîna nâ kicîmân anima.	Is that your boat?
	ᑭᓇ ᓇ ᑳᒋᒪᐣ ᐊᓂᒪ.	

6.5 *Equational Content Question*

An interrogative pronoun can combine with a noun phrase to form a question intended to ascertain identity or posession.

CO	Wenesh wa kwe.	Who's that woman?
WO	Awenen odazhigana' onoweniwa'.	Whose socks are these?
SC	Kekwân anima.	What's that?
	ᑫᑲᐣ ᐊᓂᒪ.	

6.6 *Equational Sentence With Dubitative Pronoun*

In Ojibwe, a dubitative pronoun and a noun phrase can combine to form a verbless sentence expressing doubt or uncertainty about the identity of a person or thing.

CO	Wegwendig wa nini.	I wonder who that man is.
WO	Wegodogwen iwe dinookaan.	I wonder what kind that is.

6.7 Verbless Sentences With Adverbs or Other Particles

Some adverbs and other particles, used alone or in combination with other adverbs, particles, or noun phrases, may form sentences without verbs.

6.8 *Adverb or Other Particle*

In conversation, one or several adverbs or other particles standing alone may function as a sentence.

CO	Aaniipiish.	When?
WO	Gego mashi.	Not yet.
SC	Tâpwe.	True.
	ᒋᐧᐯ.	

6.9 *Adverb or Other Particle With Question Particle*

A question particle can be added to an adverb or another particle to form a verbless yes/no question.

CO	Maampii na.	Here?
WO	Aazha na.	Ready?
SC	Mîna nâ.	More?
	ᒥᓇ ᓇ.	

6.10 *Adverb or Other Particle With Noun Phrase*

Some adverbs and other particles can combine with a noun phrase to form a verbless sentence.

CO	Nashke maaba.	Look at this!
WO	Aazha dede.	Daddy's here now.
SC	Âšay nîna.	I'm ready.
	ᐊᔭᐦ ᓂᓇ.	

6.11 *Interrogative Adverb With Noun Phrase*

An interrogative adverb can combine with a noun phrase to form a verbless locative question.

CO	Aabiish niwi nmakzinan.	Where are my shoes?
WO	Aaniindi animosh.	Where's the dog?
SC	Tânte astotin.	Where's the hat?
	ᒋᔥ ᐊᐢᑐᐣ.	

6.12 *Dubitative Adverb With Noun Phrase*

In Ojibwe, a dubitative adverb can occur with a noun phrase to form a verbless sentence expressing doubt or uncertainty about the location of a person or thing.

CO	Dbi iidig nmiijkaawnag.	I wonder where my mittens are.
WO	Dibi apane nindaanis.	I wonder where my daughter has gone.

6.13 Verbless Sentences With Focus Word

In Ojibwe, a particle called a predicator is used to focus on some part of a sentence. In Cree, the intensive pronoun serves a similar function, often pointing to something previously mentioned.

6.14 *Focus Word With Noun Phrase*

A focus word may occur with a noun phrase. In Cree, the intensive pronoun and a demonstrative may be written together as one word.

CO Mii wa.	It's him; that's the one.
WO Amii igiweniwag nindinawemaaganag.	Those are my relatives.
SC Ekwânima.	That's it.
∇·ḃσL.	

6.15 *Focus Word With Noun Phrase and Question Particle*

A question particle can be used with a focus word and a noun phrase to form a verbless question asking for confirmation of an object's or a person's identity.

CO Mii na maanda gbiiskawaagan.	Is this your coat?
WO Amii na awe oshki-mekadewikwanaye.	Is that the new priest?
SC Eko nâ anima kâ-ânimôtamapan.	Is that the one you were talking about?
∇d ạ ◁σL ḃ ◁σ⌋ᑕL<ᐣ.	

6.16 *Focus Word With Adverb*

A focus word can occur with an adverb to form a verbless statement or yes/no question about time, place, or manner.

CO Mii go geget.	That's for sure.
WO Amii imaa.	Right there.
SC Ewako nâ anta.	Is that the place?
∇·◁d ạ ◁Pᑕ.	

7

VERBS

The verb is the main feature of most sentences in Cree and Ojibwe; nothing more is needed to make a sentence. Noun phrases and adverbs and other particles may occur with the verb, but are not essential.

7.1 The Form of a Verb

The fundamental unit of a verb is the verb stem, which carries the verb's basic meaning – the state or action described by the verb (*be, see, run,* for example). Various inflectional affixes, which relate the verb to the other words in the sentence or add meanings not contained in the stem (time or negation, for example), appear around this basic stem. Some of these inflectional affixes are prefixes; most are suffixes. The overall pattern of an inflected verb is indicated in the following word diagram:

inflectional prefixes + VERB STEM + inflectional suffixes (verb ending)

In the examples that follow, the verb stem *see* is surrounded by affixes that convey pertinent information; they tell the reader or listener that the speaker did the seeing, that the action has already taken place, and that more than one person was seen by the speaker. In grammatical terms, the affixes identify the subject, the tense, and the object of the verb.

CO Ngii-waabmaag. I saw them.
WO Ningii-waabamaag.
SC Nikî-wâpamâwak.
ᓂᑭᐧ ᐧᐊᐦᒪᐧᐊᐠ.

In this particular case, it is possible to identify individual suffixes; **-g** or **-wak** at the end of the verb, for example, indicates that the object is animate plural. The second-last suffix, **-aa** or **-â**, indicates the direction of the action – that is, that it is the speaker who saw *them*, and not the other way around. In many instances, however, the various suffixes overlap and blend together so that it is difficult to identify individual suffixes. For this reason, the suffixes attached to a verb stem are often referred to collectively as the *verb ending*.

The inflectional prefixes include personal prefixes, tense prefixes, and subordinating prefixes. These take on different forms and patterns, depending on the other inflections used.

7.2 Subject and Object

The *subject* of a verb (sometimes called the *actor*) is the main person or thing involved in the action or state described by the verb, typically the one that performs the action or the one whose state or condition is described by the verb. In the example above (see section 7.1), the subject is the speaker, the first person. The *object* of a verb is an additional person or thing involved in the action or state described by the verb, typically one that is affected by the action of the verb. In the example above, the object of the verb is *them*, the third-person plural. Some verbs can have two objects.

The inflectional affixes attached to the verb identify the subject or object, or both, by giving information about their categories, such as gender, number, person, and obviation. The subject or the object can also be named in a noun phrase. The identifying inflectional affixes, however, will appear on the verb, whether a noun phrase is used or not. In the examples below, the inflected verbs appear with one or two optional noun phrases, in addition to the required verbal affixes.

CO	Genii ngii-waabmaag giw gwiizensag.	I, too, saw those boys.
WO	Indawaaj niin ningiiwe.	I'm going home now.
SC	Tânte mâka kîna etohteyan. ᑖᙻᑌ ᒪᑲ ᑭᓇ ᐁᑐᐦᑎᔭᐣ.	And what about you, where do you want to go?

7.3 *Double-Object Verbs*

Some verbs, called *double-object verbs*, can have two objects. One of these is the person or thing to which the action is directed (traditionally known as the *indirect object*) and the other is the person or thing to which the action happens (traditionally known as the *direct object*).

While either or both of these objects can be present in the sentence in the form of noun phrases, only one object – the indirect object – can be identified in the inflectional affixes. In the following example, the subject is *I*; the object identified in the inflections is *him*; and the other object, not included in the verb inflections, is *book*.

CO Ngii-miinaa Zhaanh mzinigan. I gave John a book.
WO John ningii-miinaa mazina'igan.
SC Nikî-mînâw Cwân masinahikaniniw.
ᓂᑭ ᒋᓇᐠ ᐃᐧ ᒪᔨᓇᐦᐃᑲᓂᓂᐧ

7.4 Verb Classes

There are two basic types of verbs: *transitive verbs*, which typically have objects, and *intransitive verbs*, which typically do not. The verb stems of transitive and intransitive verbs differ, as do the *paradigms* or sets of inflectional affixes that occur with them.

Verbs are further classified by gender: intransitive verbs are identified by the gender of their subjects, while transitive verbs are identified by the gender of their objects. Thus four basic classes of verbs emerge: *animate intransitive verbs, inanimate intransitive verbs, transitive inanimate verbs,* and *transitive animate verbs*. This classification is reflected both in the verb stems and the paradigms of inflectional affixes used with them. The stems and inflectional paradigms of some verbs belong to different classifications; for example, some verbs that have transitive inanimate stems are or can be inflected as animate intransitive verbs.

7.5 *Animate Intransitive Verbs*

Animate intransitive verbs (abbreviated VAI) typically have animate subjects but no objects. The stem and the inflectional paradigm are of the animate intransitive type.

CO ngizo
WO ningizo
SC tihkisow
ᑎᐦᑭᓱᐅ
it melts (*it* refers here to an animate noun – *ice*, for instance)

CO nbo/mbo
WO nibo
SC nipiw
ᓂᐱᐤ
he/she dies

7.6 *Inanimate Intransitive Verbs*

Inanimate intransitive verbs (abbreviated VII) have inanimate subjects but no objects.

CO ngide — it melts (*it* refers here to an inanimate noun – *butter*, for instance)
WO ningide
SC tihkitew
ᑎᐦᑭᑌᐠ

Some inanimate intransitive verbs, especially those describing weather and geographical features, are impersonal and typically do not occur with nouns as subjects.

CO zoogpo — it is snowing
WO zoogopon/zoogipon
SC mispon
ᒥᐢᐳᐣ

7.7 *Transitive Inanimate Verbs*

Transitive inanimate verbs (abbreviated VTI) have inanimate objects. Their subjects are usually animate.

There are two main classes or types of transitive inanimate verbs, each with its own *class marker* suffix. Most transitive inanimate stems belong to one of these two classes; in Ojibwe, a few belong to additional minor classes. The class of the verb is indicated in the ending, underlined in these examples. The first class of transitive inanimate verbs is usually abbreviated VTI:

CO nwaabndaan — I see it
WO niwaabandaan
SC niwâpahten
ᓂᐧᐊᐢᐯᐦᑖᐣ

The second class of transitive inanimate verbs is abbreviated VTI2:

CO mbiidoon — I bring it
WO nimbiidoon
SC nipîtâw
ᓂᐱᑎᐧᐊᐤ

In some discussions of Cree structure, the VTI2 type is treated as an animate intransitive verb since it uses affixes of the animate intransitive class.

Some animate intransitive verbs may occur in sentences with objects. These animate intransitive verbs with objects, abbreviated VAI+O, have

stems of the animate intransitive class. In Cree, they also have inflectional affixes of the same class for the subject; in Ojibwe, they may use a special paradigm of inflections resembling that of transitive inanimate verbs, in which the verb endings identify the object as well as the subject.

CO nminkwen	I drink it
WO ningii-adaawenan	I bought them

7.8 *Transitive Animate Verbs*

Transitive animate verbs (abbreviated VTA) have animate objects. The subjects are usually animate.

CO nwaabmaa	I see him/her/it (something grammatically animate)
WO niwaabamaa	
SC niwâpamâw	
ᓂ·ᐁᐸᒧᐧᐣ	

Several different subsets of paradigms of inflectional affixes can be used with transitive animate verbs. Each has a *direction marker* (sometimes called a *theme sign*) suffix in the ending to identify the relationship between the entities involved – that is, to indicate which is the subject and which is the object. There are also paradigms of affixes for inanimate subjects and for indefinite subjects. The latter are used to express meanings similar to those conveyed by the use of the passive voice in English.

7.9 *"Intermediate" Verbs*

In Ojibwe, some transitive inanimate verb stems do not take objects and are inflected in the animate intransitive paradigm. These stems (labelled VAI2) retain the transitive inanimate class marker. Other transitive inanimate stems can be inflected in either the transitive inanimate paradigm or the animate intransitive paradigm, depending on whether or not they take an object. In Cree, some transitive inanimate stems may typically occur without objects, but such verbs are inflected in the normal transitive inanimate paradigm.

CO zaag'am	he/she goes outside
WO nindinendam	I think so
SC ostostotam	he/she coughs
ᐅᐢᐅᐢᐅᒑᐦ	

7.10 *Relational Verbs*

In Cree and some varieties of Ojibwe, animate intransitive and transitive inanimate verbs can have relational forms to indicate that the action of the verb relates to some person other than the subject or the object. A special paradigm of endings is used to indicate the relational form of verbs.

WO Ninandawenimig ji-nagamowag. He wants me to sing.
SC Nikî-wâpahtamwân ocîmân. I saw his boat.
ᓂᑭ ᐋᐸᐦᑕᐚᐣ ᐅᒋᒫᐣ.

7.11 Verb Orders

There are three basic verb orders: the *imperative order*, used in giving commands; the *independent order*, used in most statements and yes/no questions; and the *conjunct order*, used mainly in content questions and in subordinate clauses of various types. Each order has its distinct paradigm of inflectional affixes. These affixes vary according to the type of the verb (VAI, VII, etc.) and the way the verb is used in the sentence.

The main uses of each order and the paradigms of inflectional affixes that can be used with different classes of stems within each order are examined in the following sections.

7.12 *The Imperative Order*

Verbs in the imperative order express commands or requests, although not all verbs used in this way are in the imperative order. The inflectional endings of imperative-order verbs contain suffixes registering the subject, which is animate and second person (singular, plural, or inclusive plural), and, in some transitive forms, the object. Since the subject must be animate and second person, inanimate intransitive verbs have no imperative forms. Personal prefixes are not used and tense prefixes are very rare.

There are three main *modes* of imperative verbs, each used for a particular purpose: the *immediate imperative* (also called the *present* or *regular imperative*), which expresses commands and requests to be executed immediately; the *delayed imperative* (also called the *future* or *deferred imperative*), which expresses commands and requests to be executed at some point in the future; and, in Ojibwe, the *prohibitive imperative* (also called the *negative imperative*), which expresses negative commands. Each form has a distinct set of inflectional endings.

7.13 Uses of the Imperative Verb

The imperative verb is used to express commands or requests. The imperative verb may be the only verb in the sentence, or it may appear with a subordinate clause with a conjunct verb.

The overall structure of the imperative verb is:

VERB STEM + imperative ending

7.14 Inflection of the Imperative Verb for Subject and Object

Given the many variations that exist among local forms of Ojibwe and Cree, paradigms of inflectional endings for various verb types are not given here. Rather, teachers are encouraged to compile their own charts of imperative verb endings, which should reflect the forms used in local varieties of the language. Detailed instructions and blank charts have been provided for this purpose in the Appendix to this document (see pp. 93–117).

In the examples that follow, the imperative endings on the verbs have been underlined. All the examples in this section are in the immediate mode.

7.15 **Animate intransitive imperative inflection.** An animate intransitive imperative verb has an animate subject but no object. The person and number of the second-person animate subject are indicated in the imperative ending.

CO Wewiib nishkaag. — Hurry and get up!
WO Daga zhemaag giigidon. — Call immediately!
SC Eko wanawîtâk. — Let's go outside!
ᐁᑯ ᐊᓇᐧᐃᑕᐠ.

Some Cree verb forms have no singular imperative ending, and the stem appears alone:

SC Wanawî. — Go outside!
ᐊᓇᐧᐃ.

7.16 **Transitive inanimate imperative inflection.** A transitive inanimate imperative verb has an animate subject and an inanimate object. The person and number of the second-person animate subject are indicated by an imperative ending. The inanimate object may be singular or plural, but number is not indicated in the ending except in the inclusive plural

subject forms. The person and number of the second-person animate subject are indicated by an inflectional ending, which may include the appropriate class marker.

CO Bi-ninan ziisbaakwad. — Pass the sugar.
WO Zagakisidoon gidaya'iiman. — Tidy up your things.
SC Ôta iši-astâ anima metawâkan. — Put that toy here.
ᐅᑦᑕ ᐃᔅ ᐊᖏᑦᑕ ᐊᓂᒪ ᒣᑦᐊᑲᐣ.

7.17 **Transitive animate imperative inflection.** A transitive animate imperative verb has an animate subject and object. Most combinations of subject and object are indicated in the imperative ending, which may contain a direction marker.

CO Bzindawig bneshiinyag. — Listen to the birds.
WO Nanaandone'waadaa dakoniwewinini. — Let's go look for a policeman.
SC Išiwininân mwehci anohc. — Take us right away.
ᐃᔅᐃᓂᐃᓇᐣ ᓂᒣᑭ ᐊᓄᐢᑊ.

With a double-object verb, the ending reflects the indirect object.

CO Miizh Maanii mzin'igan. — Give Mary the book.
WO Adaawetamawishin bangii minaago'on. — Buy me some perfume.
SC Wâpahtinamawik kicîmâniwâw. — Show me your boat.
ᐊᐧᐊᐤᑎᓇᒪᐃᐣ ᑭᒋᒪᓂᐊᐧᐊᐤ.

7.18 Inflection of the Imperative Verb for Mode

7.19 **The immediate imperative mode.** The immediate mode of the imperative is used to express commands or requests that are to be executed immediately. All the examples in sections 7.15–7.17 are in the immediate mode.

7.20 **The delayed (or future) imperative mode.** The delayed form of the imperative is used to express commands or requests that are to be carried out at some future time. (In some contexts, the requests expressed by the delayed imperative are polite in tone.) The endings for the delayed imperative contain a delayed-mode suffix: **-k** in Ojibwe, **-hk** in Cree.

CO Baamaa bi-zhaakan. — Come back (later).
WO Wiiji'aakeg gimaamaa. — Help your mother.
SC Kwayask kanawâpahtamôhkan. — Take a good look at it (later).
ᑳᔅᑎᐣ ᑲᓇᐧᐊᐤᐸᑕᒨᐦᑳᐣ.

7.21 **The prohibitive imperative mode.** In Ojibwe, the prohibitive (or negative) imperative expresses negative commands or requests. A prohibitive particle, which appears at the beginning of the sentence, is normally used with a prohibitive verb. The endings of a prohibitive verb contain the prohibitive suffix **-k** (**-g** after **n**).

In Cree, a prohibitive particle is used with the immediate or the delayed imperative mode to express a negative command.

CO	Gego biigsidooke naagan.	Don't break that dish!
WO	Gego zaaga'angen.	Don't go outside!
SC	Kâwina pîkopitamok anihi metawâkana.	Don't break those toys!
	ᑲᒋᐧᐃᓂ ᐋᑯᐱᑭᑐᒡ ᐊᓂᐦᐁᑲᓇ.	

7.22 ***The Independent Order***

Whether or not a verb is in the independent order is determined by the way it is used. Usually when a verb is the main verb in a statement or yes/no question, it is in the independent order. The affixes of the independent order register the subject and, in many cases, an object. The affixes may include a personal prefix and one or several suffixes indicating the subject or object, or subject-object combinations. Time and related ideas can be indicated by *tense prefixes*. The overall structure of independent verbs is:

personal prefix	+	tense prefixes	+	VERB STEM	+	independent ending

Not all of these components are present in every independent verb: a personal prefix is required for only certain subjects or subject-object combinations; tense prefixes may not be required; and some forms either have no suffix or the suffix is deleted by pronunciation rules from certain stems.

Independent-order verbs occur in one of four modes; the *neutral* mode, the *preterit* mode, the *dubitative* mode, and the *preterit-dubitative* mode. All of these, except the neutral mode, have their own characteristic mode suffixes. Verbs without a mode suffix are considered to be in the neutral (or indicative) mode.

The endings of independent verbs are often very complicated and contain several different suffixes that blend together so that it becomes difficult to identify individual suffixes. Independent verb endings may include one or more of the following: a subject/object suffix or suffixes, a direction marker, and a mode suffix or suffixes. Other suffixes may also be present, representing other grammatical ideas; for example, in Ojibwe, independent verbs can have negative suffixes.

7.23 Uses of the Independent Verb

7.24 **Independent verb in statement.** The main verb in a statement is usually in the independent order. The independent verb is underlined in the examples below.

CO	Ndaakoz.	I am sick.
WO	Ajina oodenaang babaamibizowag.	They are riding around town for a while.
SC	Wesâ kišâkamitew. ·∇ᓴ ᑭᔭᑲᒥᑌᐤ.	It is too hot.

7.25 **Independent verb in yes/no question.** The main verb in a yes/no question can be in the independent order. A yes/no question particle is usually the second word in the sentence. The independent verb is underlined in the examples below.

CO	Gmaajaami na.	Are we going?
WO	Giiyaabi na omaa ayaa Aneman.	Is Raymond still here?
SC	Kiyâpic nâ kitôstostoten. ᑭᔾᐱᒼ ᓇ ᑭᑐᐢᑐᐢᑐᑌᐣ.	Are you still coughing?

7.26 Inflection of the Independent Verb for Subject and Object

A personal prefix indicating the person of the subject or object is required in some forms; other grammatical information about the subject or object, or both, is indicated in the ending. The most common subject and subject-object patterns are illustrated below.

Given the many variations among local forms of Ojibwe and Cree, paradigms of inflectional endings for individual verb types would be of limited usefulness in a guide of this type. However, teachers are encouraged to compile their own verb charts using local forms of inflectional endings. Blank charts and detailed instructions are provided for this purpose in the Appendix to this document (see pp. 93–117).

7.27 **Animate intransitive independent inflection.** The animate subject of an animate intransitive verb can be first, second, or third person and singular or plural. A third-person subject may be obviative. The subject may also be indefinite.

a) The number and obviation of a third-person subject are indicated in the ending. In the neutral mode, a third-person singular ending is often deleted owing to pronunciation rules.

b) A first- or second-person subject is indicated by a personal prefix, often in combination with a suffix showing number. The first-person prefix is used if the subject is first person; the second-person prefix is

used if the subject is second person or *inclusive*, a form that includes the second person.

A distinctive feature of Ojibwe is the loss of a short vowel from the end of the stem when the subject is a first- or second-person singular. Note the loss of the final **-i** in the first person in the example below.

niimi	he/she dances
niniim	I dance

c) An indefinite subject – usually some unspecified group – is indicated by the indefinite suffix in the verb ending. The resulting form emphasizes the taking place of the action rather than the role of the participants in the action. The Western Ojibwe and Cree forms can be further inflected as inanimate intransitive verbs.

CO Wii-niim'idim.	There's going to be a dance.
WO Naanaage da-maawaji'idinaaniwan.	There will be a meeting later on.
SC Kî-ayamihcikâniwan kekišep. ᑭᐟ ᐊᔨᒥᐦᒋᑲᐃᓇᐎᐣ ᑫᐱᔭᐠ.	There was a church service this morning.

d) The Ojibwe VAI2 verbs follow the same patterns as those outlined above when used intransitively, but the endings begin with the class marker **-am** (this can also appear as **-an**, **-aa**).

CO Nzaag'am.	I'm going outside.
WO Nindinendaamin.	We think so.

7.28 **Inanimate intransitive independent inflection.** The subject of an inanimate intransitive verb is inanimate and third person. The number and obviation of the subject is shown in the ending. In the neutral mode, a singular non-obviative ending is often deleted.

CO Aapji mchaani wwiigwaam.	His house is very big.
WO Biigoshkaawan nindooshkiinzhigokaanan.	My glasses are broken.
SC Minospakwan nâ atihko-wîyâs. ᒥᓂᐢᐸᐣ ᓇ ᐊᑎᐦᑯ ᐧᐃᔭᐢ.	Does the caribou meat taste good?

Inanimate intransitive verbs, especially those describing natural conditions, may be used impersonally, without a subject. Such verbs are inflected as singular.

CO Zgimekaa.	There are a lot of mosquitoes.
WO Gii-gichi-gimiwan dibikong.	It rained hard last night.
SC Âšay wîpa kata-mispon. ᐋᔐᐤ ᐧᐃᐸ ᑲᑖ ᒥᐢᐱᐣ.	It's going to snow pretty soon.

7.29 **Transitive inanimate independent inflection.** The subject of a transitive inanimate verb is typically animate; the object is inanimate and third person. In Cree, only the subject is indicated by affixes, which follow the same pattern as that outlined for the animate intransitive verb. In Ojibwe, the pattern is different; the person of the subject (first, second, or third) is indicated by a personal prefix; other grammatical information about the subject and the number of the object are indicated by suffixes in the ending. In both languages, the suffixes blend with the class marker between the end of the stem and the suffixes.

All transitive inanimate stems belong to specific classes, each of which has its own class marker suffix. In Ojibwe, the class marker of class 1 stems (labelled simply VTI) takes the form **-am**, **-an**, or **-aa** in the ending; in Cree, it takes the form **-am**, **-an**, or **-e**. The class marker of the second most common class (labelled VTI2) is **-oo** in Ojibwe and **-â** in Cree. In Ojibwe, a small number of verbs (the VTI3 group) use no class marker.

CO	Bapaa wnaadnan pikweshmownan.	Dad is getting the pillows.
WO	Joe ogii-biidoon nimazina'igan.	Joe brought my book.
SC	Kitepâpahten nâ nema cîmân sâkahikanihk.	Can you see the boat on the lake from here?
	ᑭᑌᐸᐧᐣᑌᐢ ᓇ ᓂᒪ ᑎᒪᐢ ᓴᑲᐧᐃᑲᓂᐦᑲ.	

It should be noted that the third-person prefix (**w-**) indicated in the first example above may be deleted in many varieties of Ojibwe owing to pronunciation rules.

In Cree, animate intransitive verbs with objects (VAI+O) follow the regular pattern of inflections for intransitive verbs; in Ojibwe, they may follow the pattern of affixes for VTI3 stems, which have no class marker.

CO	Ngii-adaawen wiingashk.	I sold some sweetgrass.
WO	Ojiimaan oga-adaawaagen.	He is going to sell his boat.
SC	Nikî-šwâpihkân pîsiskâkan.	I bought a coat.
	ᓂᑭᐢ ᓱᐃᐧᐢ ᐋᓯᐢᑲᑲᐢ.	

7.30 **Transitive animate independent inflection.** The subject and object of a transitive animate verb can be first, second, or third person and singular or plural. A third-person subject or object may be obviative. If both the subject and object are third person, at least one of them must be obviative. The subject of a transitive animate verb may also be inanimate (singular or plural) or indefinite.

The subject and object cannot refer to the same person; thus there are no forms for an inclusive plural subject with a second-person object, as both of these would include the same person, the listener.

When the subject and object are the same person ("he talks to himself"), an animate intransitive verb with a reflexive stem is used (see section 8.17).

The person of the subject or object is indicated by a personal prefix. (The absence of a personal prefix indicates a third person in Cree.) Whether the prefix is the subject or the object is determined by the direction marker used. All other grammatical information relating to the subject and object is conveyed by suffixes. Almost any transitive animate stem can occur with any direction marker; the latter simply indicates the relationship between a particular kind of subject and a particular kind of object. The direction markers are: the *direct*, the *inverse*, the *me-object*, and the *you-object*. In addition, there are variants of the inverse marker for indefinite and inanimate subjects.

7.31 **The direct marker.** The direct form is used when the subject is first or second person and the object is third person. The personal prefix, where required, indicates the person of the subject. In Ojibwe, the direct marker takes the form **-aa**; in Cree, **-â** or **-e**. Other suffixes appear in the ending along with the direct marker, indicating various categories of the subject and object.

CO	Chi-Joe gga-o-waabmaanaa/ ka-o-waabmaanaa.	We'll go and see Big-Joe.
WO	Naazibiing ningii-mikawaa wa'a asin.	I found this rock down by the lake.
SC	Nikî-wanihâw peyak nitastis. ᓂᐱ ᐋᓂᐣᐋᐤ ᐯᔭᐟ ᓂᑕᒼᒼ.	I lost one of my mittens.

The direct form is also used when the subject is third-person proximate and the object is third-person obviative. In Ojibwe, the third-person prefix is used; in Cree, no personal prefix is used.

CO	Kina wiya wgii-gnoonaan.	He talked to everybody.
WO	Nimaamaa ogii-ozhi'aa' iniweniwa' azhigana'.	My mother made these socks.
SC	Kî-nipahewak môswa otâkošîhk aniki nâpešišak. ᐱ ᓂᐸᐣᐁᐧᐋᐟ ᒍᔭ ᐅᑕᑯᔅᐠ ᐋᓂᑭ ᓇᐯᔅᔭᐟ.	Those boys killed a moose last night.

If the subject is first or second person and the object is obviative, the suffix **-(i)m** is added before the direct marker in some varieties of Ojibwe and in Cree.

WO	Odeden ningii-waabamimaan.	I saw his father.
SC	Kikiskenimimâwa nâ otôtema. ᑭᑭᐢᑫᓂᒥᒧᐏ ᓇ ᐅᔑᑌᒪ.	Do you know his friend?

7.32 **The inverse marker.** The inverse form is used when the subject is third person and the object is first or second person. The inverse form uses the same prefix and suffixes as the direct form, but the subject and object are inverted: the prefix, where required, shows the person of the object. In Ojibwe, the inverse marker takes the form **-(i)go**, **-(i)gw**, or **-(i)g** in the ending; in Cree, it appears as **-(i)ko** or **-(i)kw**.

CO	Manj go pii daabaan gdaa-bsikaag.	A car could hit you anytime.
WO	Wiiba zhebaa igi biiwideg ningii-mawadisigonaanig.	Early this morning those strangers came to visit us.
SC	Nipehikonânik neta. ᓂᐯᐦᐃᑲᓇᐣᐃᒃ ᑎᑕ᙮	They are waiting for us over there.

The inverse form is also used when the subject is third-person obviative and the object is third-person non-obviative.

CO	Jiinaagwa gaa-waabmaajin nongwa wnandwaabmigoon.	The ones he saw yesterday are looking for him now.
WO	Gabe-dibik ogii-nooji'igowaa' ma'iingana'.	The wolves bothered them all night.
SC	Papâ-nâtawâpamikow ôhtâwiya. ᐸᐦ ᓇᒋᐧᐊᐸᒥᑯᐧ ᐅᐦᑖᐏᔭ᙮	His father is looking for him.

7.33 **The me-object marker.** The me-object form is used when the subject is second person and the object is first person. The personal prefix indicates the second-person subject. In Ojibwe, the me-object direction marker takes the form **-i** (which may be deleted in some forms) or **-y**, or, in some varieties, **-ish**; in Cree, **-i**. In some forms, the last consonant of the stem may change. Other suffixes appear in the ending along with the me-object direction marker, indicating various categories of the subject and object.

CO	Gaa-sh wii gwa gbaamenmisii.	You are not paying attention to me.
WO	Gaawiin ina gibizindawisii.	Don't you listen to me?
SC	Ka-kî-awihin nâ kotak kimasinahikanâhtik. ᑲ ᑭ ᐊᐧᐃᐣ ᓇ ᑳᑦ ᑭᒪᓯᓇᐦᑭᓇᐦᑎᐠ᙮	Could you lend me your other pencil?

7.34 **The you-object marker.** The you-object marker is used when the subject is first person and the object is second person. The personal prefix indicates the second-person object. In Ojibwe, the you-object

marker appears as **-(i)n(in)**; in Cree, as **-(i)t**. Other suffixes appear in the ending, indicating various categories of the subject and object.

CO	Gga-wiijiiwin./Ka-wiijiiwin.	I'll go with you.
WO	Gigii-wiindamawin.	I told you.
SC	Kikî-wâpamitinân ihtâwinihk otâkošîhk.	We saw you in town last night.
	ᑭᑭ ᐊᐧᐸᒥᓇᐣ ᐃᐟᑕᐧᐃᓂᐠ ᐅᑕᐊᔅᐠ.	

7.35 **Inverse and direct markers with indefinite subject.** A variant of the inverse form is used to indicate an indefinite subject with a first- or second-person object. The personal prefix indicates the person of the object. In Ojibwe, the direction marker for an indefinite subject is **-(i)goo**; in Cree, **-(i)kawi**. The patterns for a third-person object vary; in some varieties a direct marker is used, as in the Central Ojibwe example below. The indefinite subject is often translated into English by an unspecified *they* or the use of the passive voice.

CO	Gii-shamaawag go aanwi.	They were fed all right.
WO	Niwii-mazinaakizogoo.	They want to take my picture.
SC	Kikî-ašamikawin nâ âšay.	Have you been fed already?
	ᑭᑭ ᐊᓂᒥᑲᐧᐃᓂᐣ ᓇ ᐊᓂᐤ.	

7.36 **Inverse marker with inanimate subject.** The inverse marker is used with a transitive animate stem for an inanimate subject. The inflectional affixes follow the pattern of the transitive inanimate verb, except for the substitution of the inverse direction marker for the class marker. The prefix indicates the object (no personal prefix is used for a third-person object in Cree). The ending includes reference to the person and number of the object. In Ojibwe, a plural inanimate subject may also be included in the ending.

CO	Wgii-maj'igon.	It woke him.
WO	Ningii-jaagizogon boodawaanaabik.	The stove burned me.
SC	Âhkohiko animeniw natohkononiniw.	The medicine makes him sick.
	ᐊᐟᐦᑯᐦᐃᑲᑯ ᐊᓂᒣᐤ ᓇᐠᐦᑭᓇᓂᓂᐤ.	

7.37 Inflection of the Independent Verb for Tense

One or more tense prefixes may be used to indicate time other than the present, other ideas relating to the completion of the action, or such ideas as intention, possibility, or obligation. If a personal prefix is used, the tense prefix or prefixes follow it. In some varieties of Ojibwe, the personal prefix blends with the tense prefix, making it difficult to

distinguish between them. The basic forms of the most common tense prefixes on independent verbs are given below.

Ojibwe	*Cree*		
gii-/gii'-	kî-	ᑭ	completed action (past tense)
ga-	ka-	ᑲ	future (after a personal prefix)
da-	ta-, kata-	ᑕ, ᑳᑕ	future (not after a personal prefix)
wii-/wii'-	wî-	ᐧᐃ	desiderative
daa-	tâ-	ᑖ	modal (possibility, obligation)
gii- (rare)	kî-	ᑭ	potential

CO Wiikwemkong da-zhaa Norma. — Norma will go to Wikwemikong.
WO Ajina niwii-namadab. — I want to sit down for a while.
SC Nikî-wanihikânân iskani-pipon. — We trapped all winter.
ᓂᑭ ᐧᐊᓂᐣᐃᑲᓇᐣ ᐃᔅᑲᓂ ᐯᐱᐅᓐ

In some varieties of Ojibwe and in Cree, a prefix other than the past-tense prefix may be used with a past-tense negative verb. In Ojibwe, this prefix takes the form **onji-**; in Cree, **ohci-**.

7.38 Inflection of the Independent Verb for Negation

In Ojibwe, negation is expressed by the use of a negative particle at the beginning of the sentence and a negative suffix in the verb ending. The suffix is usually **-sii(n)** or **-si(n)**. In Cree, a negative particle is used, but the verb has regular inflections.

CO Gaawiin nmino-yaasii. — I'm not feeling well.
WO Gaawiin debwe nindanokiisiimin. — We're not really working.
SC Môna mišikitiwak aniki tâpiskwâsonak. — Those spools of thread aren't big.
ᒧᓇ ᒥᔑᑎᐧᑭᑎᐘᐠ ᐊᓂᑭ ᑖᐱᐢᑲᐘᓇᐠ

The negative suffix is used even when the negative particle occurs with another particle or pronoun.

CO Gaawii wiya bkadesii. — Nobody is hungry.
WO Gaawiin mashi ningikinoo'amaagesii. — I haven't taught yet.

7.39 Inflection of the Independent Verb for Mode

The preterit, dubitative, and preterit-dubitative modes are indicated by suffixes that appear in the verb ending along with the suffixes relating to the subject and object. When no mode suffix appears in the ending, a verb is said to be in the neutral mode.

7.40 **The preterit mode.** The preterit mode is used to emphasize completed action – that is, action performed in the past and not continuing into the present – and intended but unrealized action. The verb ending includes a preterit suffix: **-ba(n)** in Ojibwe, **-pan** or **-ht(ay)** in Cree.

CO	Gewiinwaa go gii-zhaabniig oodi.	They should have gone there, too.
WO	Miziwe ningii-babaa-ayaanaaban.	I had been all over the place.
SC	Oški-kîšikânipan, kâ-peci-ayamihit. ᐅᖾᑭ ᑭᔑᑲᓂᐢᐣ, ᑲ ᐯᒋ ᐊᔨᒥᐦᐃᐟ.	It was Monday that he came and called me on the phone.

7.41 **The dubitative mode.** The dubitative mode is used to emphasize doubt or uncertainty about the action or state expressed by the verb. The verb ending includes a dubitative suffix: **-dig(en)** for Central Ojibwe, **-dog(en)** for Western Ojibwe, and **-tik(wen)/-tok(wen)** for Cree.

CO	Baawting go yaadig nongwa.	He must be in Sault Ste. Marie today.
WO	Ogii-meshkwadoonaanaadog awiya o'owe mazina'iganens.	Somebody must have cashed this cheque.
SC	Nipâtikwenak kiyâpic. ᓂᐢᑎᑭᐧᓀᒃ ᑭᔭᐱᒼ.	They must still be sleeping.

7.42 **The preterit-dubitative mode.** The preterit-dubitative mode is used to emphasize uncertainty about past action or events – for example, doubt concerning the reliability of reported events or inferences made from uncertain evidence. It is also used to refer to events known from traditional accounts. The verb ending includes preterit-dubitative suffixes, which incorporate a preterit suffix.

CO	Niibna kwa wzhitoowaagba nishnaabeg ziisbaakwad wi pii.	It is said that the Native people used to make a lot of maple sugar in those days.
WO	Gii-ozhaashishinogoban.	He must have slipped.
SC	Mitoni misiwe kî-niskipotekopan. ᒥᑐᓂ ᒥᓯᐧᐁ ᑭᓂᐢᑭᐸᑌᑯᐢᐣ.	It must all have been completely flooded.

7.43 *The Conjunct Order*

As with independent-order verbs, it is the way a verb is used that determines whether or not it is in the conjunct order. When a verb is used in a subordinate clause or when, in a main clause, it is joined to

certain other words – for example, question words such as *when, who, where* – it falls into the *conjunct* or *joined-together* order.

Although tense prefixes occur as in the independent order, personal prefixes are not used in the conjunct order. The suffixes in the verb ending indicate the *subject* of an intransitive verb and both the *subject* and *object* of a transitive verb. The endings may also include suffixes for the same modes that are used in the independent order. In some varieties of Ojibwe, they may also include negative suffixes.

In Cree, conjunct verbs appear in the subjunctive with a modified conjunct ending to indicate unrealized events. In some varieties of Ojibwe, conjunct verbs may appear in *participle* form; in this form, the suffixes for subject and object may differ from those normally used in the conjunct order.

Certain constructions, including participles in Ojibwe, use the *changed conjunct*, in which the vowel of the first syllable of the verb (this may be in the verb stem or it may be a prefix or preverb) is changed according to a regular pattern. The constructions that require the *changed conjunct* and the extent to which the mechanism, also referred to as *the process of initial change*, is applied vary from dialect to dialect.

The basic pattern of the conjunct verb is:

initial change + tense prefix(es) + VERB STEM + conjunct ending *or* subordinating prefix(es)

7.44 Uses of the Conjunct Verb

Conjunct verbs are found most often in content questions, after predicators, and in subordinate clauses, including adverbial clauses, verb complement clauses, and relative clauses.

It should be pointed out that the conjunct order is used for a variety of purposes in the different Native languages, so that the uses presented here should be seen not as an exhaustive survey but rather as a guide to the most common uses of the conjunct order.

7.45 **Content questions.** *Content questions*, or questions beginning with a question word such as *who, where*, or *what*, normally require the conjunct order form of the verb. The examples in this section illustrate the main types of content questions.

7.46 *Questions with interrogative pronoun.* In this type of question, a noun phrase, represented by the interrogative pronoun, is the focus of a question.

CO Wenesh gaa-waabmik.	Who saw you?
WO Awenenan gaa-mawadisaad aakoziiwigamigong.	Whom did he visit in the hospital?
SC Kekwân wâ-mîciyan. ᑫᑲᐧᐣ ᐋᑌ ᒋᒋᔭᐣ.	What do you want to eat?

7.47 *Questions with interrogative adverb.* In this type of question, an interrogative adverb is linked to the conjunct verb to ask a question concerning the location, time, or nature of an act or event. The verb often contains a relative root or prefix.

CO Aabiish ezhaayin.	Where are you going?
WO Aan enakamigak agwajiing.	What's going on outside? (*literally* How is the action going outside?)
SC Tânispiy kâ-takošihkik. ᑖᓂᐢᐱᔨ ᑲ ᑕᐧᔑᐢᐱᒃ.	When did they arrive?

7.48 *Questions with interrogative word asking for a reason.* In this type of question, an interrogative word is linked to the verb prefix or root *from* to ask a question concerning the reason for an act or event.

CO Aaniish gaa-nji-gnoonind.	Why were they speaking to him?
WO Wegonen wenji-inishiyin.	Why are you saying that to me?
SC Kekwân wehci-pâhpiyan. ᑫᑲᐧᐣ ᐋᐁᒋ ᐢᐸᐦᐱᔭᐣ.	Why are you laughing?

7.49 **Dubitative statements.** In Ojibwe, *dubitative statements* beginning with a dubitative word – statements that express doubt or uncertainty about the identity or location of a person or thing, the location or time of an event, etc. – require the conjunct-order form of the verb. The conjunct verb in this type of statement is usually in the dubitative mode.

7.50 *Dubitative statements with dubitative pronoun.* In this type of statement, the conjunct verb is linked to a dubitative pronoun to express doubt or uncertainty about the identity of a person or thing.

CO Wegwen maa gaa-bi-zhaagwenh.	I wonder who came here.
WO Awegwen gaa-gidamwaagwen nimbakwezhiganiman.	I wonder who ate up my bannock.

7.51 *Dubitative statements with dubitative adverb.* In this type of statement, the conjunct verb is linked to a dubitative adverb to express doubt or uncertainty about location, time, or manner.

CO Dbi iidig tegwenh nwiiwkwaan.	I wonder where my hat is.
WO Amanj enendamogwen noongom nimaamaa.	I wonder what my mother thinks (*literally* how my mother is thinking).

7.52 **Clauses with predicator.** Verbs used in clauses introduced by a predicator are usually in the conjunct order.

7.53 *Clauses with focus word.* In Ojibwe, the verb in a clause introduced by a focus word is in the conjunct order unless a negative particle is present.

CO Mii wiya gaa-kidod.	That's what somebody said.
WO Amii e-gichi-anokiid enaak John.	This is the first time that John is working hard.

7.54 *Clauses with other predicators.* Certain other particles may serve as predicators and introduce a clause with a conjunct-order verb.

CO Pane gaa-ni-maajaad.	And finally he went.
WO Booch igo gaa-izhi-odaapinang.	And still he went and picked it up.
SC Tânika kimowahk. Ċơᑲ ᑭᒧ·ᐊᕽ.	I wish it would rain.

7.55 **Complement clauses.** Some verbs, notably verbs of speaking, thinking, and feeling, can be complemented by a clause containing a conjunct verb.

CO Nzegiz wii-niiskaadak.	I'm afraid there will be a storm.
WO Ningikenimaag e-aakoziwaad.	I know they are sick.
SC Minwenihtam e-âpatisit. ᒥ·ᑲơᓂᒡᑦ ᐁ ᐊᐸᑎᓯᐦ.	He's happy to work.

7.56 **Adverbial subordinate clauses.** Some subordinate clauses take on an adverbial function to specify time, location, or manner.

7.57 ***Adverbial clauses of time.*** *Adverbial clauses of time* perform the function of an adverb of time, restricting the focus of verbal action in the main clause to a specific period or point in time. Adverbial clauses are often introduced by a grammatical particle or by one or more tense or subordinating prefixes. In the examples that follow, the adverbial clauses of time are underlined.

CO Megwaa nbaayaanh, gii-bi-dgoshin. — She arrived while I was sleeping.

WO Gego zaaga'angen jibwaa-dagoshinaan. — Don't go outside until I arrive.

SC Nipâpa kata-natawi-âpatisiw ke-wâpaninik. — My father will go to work tomorrow.
ᓂᐦᐸ ᑲᑖ ᓇᑕᐏ ᐊᐦᑎᓯᐧ
ᓀᐧᐊᐸᓂᓂᐟ.

7.58 ***Adverbial clauses of place.*** *Adverbial clauses of place*, also called *locative clauses*, perform the function of an adverb of place or a locative noun. The verb may be introduced by a tense or subordinating prefix and usually has a relative root or prefix. In the examples that follow, the adverbial clauses of place are underlined.

CO Enji-nbaayaanh kwa gii-te wi. — It's where I used to sleep.

WO Gaa-izhi-daad nindizhaa. — I'm going to his place (*literally* I'm going where he lives).

SC Pakitina ekâ atimwak ke-iši-otinahkik. — Put it where the dogs won't be able to get it.
ᐸᑭᑎᓇ ᐁᑲ ᐊᑎᐧᒪᐟ ᓀ ᐃᔑ ᐅᑎᓇᐦᑭᐟ.

7.59 **Conditional clauses.** *Conditional clauses* state a condition that restricts the action of the verb in the main clause. Conditional clauses often occur with the conjunction **giishpin/kišâspin** and in Cree normally require the subjunctive mode. In the examples below, the conditional clauses are underlined.

CO Giishpin nendman, mii go oodi ge-zhaaying. — If you agree, we'll go.

WO Waabamagiban, nindaa-gii-giiwe-diba'amawaa. — If I had seen him, I would have paid him back.

SC Môna kika-pôsinânaw cîmânihk nôtihke. — We're not going to go in the boat if it is windy.
ᒧᓇ ᑭᑲ ᐳᓴᓇᓇᐤ ᑭᒪᓂᐠ ᓄᑎᐦᑭ.

7.60 **Clauses of purpose.** *Clauses of purpose* or result describe the goal or outcome of the action specified in the main clause. Clauses of purpose usually contain a future or subordinating preverb. In the following examples, the clauses of purpose are underlined.

CO Weweni wiisnin ji-mno-bmaadziyan. — Eat properly so you will be healthy.
WO Niwii-gagwejimaa awiya ji-ozhibii'iged. — I want to ask someone to take notes.
SC Mîcisôhkan ekâ ci-šîwateyan metaweyan. — Eat so you won't be hungry when you play.
ᒋᑎᓂᐦᑲᐣ ᐁᑲ ᑎ ᔑᐧᐊᐁᐣ ᒉᑕᐧᐁᔭᐣ.

7.61 **Relative clauses.** *Relative clauses* modify nouns (they describe or say something about the noun that identifies it) or they function themselves as noun phrases. In many varieties of Cree and Ojibwe, the verb in a relative clause is introduced by a subordinating prefix – **gaa-** in Ojibwe, **kâ-** in Cree, for example. In some varieties of Ojibwe, the verb in a relative clause is a participle. In the first set of examples below, the relative clauses modify nouns; in the second set, they serve as noun phrases. In both sets of examples, the relative clauses are underlined.

CO Biidoon wi mechaag mzin'igan. — Bring that big book!
WO Awe sa bineshiinzh gabenaagosh gaa-noondaagozid gii-maajiise. — The bird that's been chirping all evening flew away.
SC Osâm mâka aniki awâšišak pišišik kâ-metawecik nihtâ-ayeskosiwak. — Children who play all the time get tired easily.
ᐅᓴᐧᐣ ᒪᑲ ᐊᓂᑭ ᐊᐧᐊᔑᓴᐦᐠ ᐱᔑᔑᐠ ᑲ ᒉᑕᐧᐁᔭᐣ ᓂᐦᑖᐧᐁᔮᐧᑭᐠ.

CO Nwii-shamaag nyaadmaagejig. — I'll feed the helpers (*literally* those who have helped).
WO Anishinaabemowin gaa-anokaadamaang miziwe nindoonjiimin. — Those of us who work on the Native language come from all over.
SC Nikî-mîcin kâ-kî-petâyan. — I ate what you brought.
ᓂᑭ ᒋᑎᐣ ᑲ ᑭ ᐯᒋᓴᐣ.

7.62 Inflection of the Conjunct Verb for Subject and Object

Conjunct-order verbs have the same range of subject-object combinations as independent verbs, but no personal prefixes are used; all grammatical information concerning subjects and objects is conveyed by suffixes. As with the independent order, paradigms of inflectional endings for various verb types are not given here; the many variations among local

forms of Ojibwe and Cree make these of limited usefulness. Rather, teachers are encouraged to compile their own verb charts using local forms of inflectional endings. Blank charts and detailed instructions are provided for this purpose in the Appendix to this document (see pp. 93–117).

7.63 **Animate intransitive conjunct inflection.** The animate subject of an animate intransitive verb can be first, second, or third person and singular or plural. If the subject is third person, it may be obviative. The subject of an animate intransitive verb may also be indefinite. The subject is indicated in the ending.

CO Ngii-kenmaa aakzid.	I know she is sick.
WO Aandi gaa-bi-onjiiwaad gimishoomisag.	Where did your grandfathers come here from?
SC Pwâstawi-mîcisowak pišišik e-nipâcik.	As they sleep in all the time, they eat late.
ᓀᐦᐡᐃᐧᐊᐣ ᑭᑎᓂᐣ ᐱᔑᔑᐠ ᐁ ᓂᐦᐢᑎᐠ.	

The object of an animate intransitive verb (VAI+O) is not expressed in the verb ending. Thus animate intransitive verbs with objects have the same endings as the more common animate intransitive verbs that only have subjects.

7.64 **Inanimate intransitive conjunct inflection.** The third-person inanimate subject of an inanimate intransitive verb is shown in the ending.

CO Aabiish teg mkakoon.	Where are the boxes?
WO Ambegish gimiwang.	I wish it would rain.
SC Kecikopanihtwâw e-mišâniki omaskisina.	As his shoes are too big, he keeps losing them.
ᖾᑭᐢᑯᓂᐦᑐᐘᐤ ᐁ ᑎᔨᓂᑭ ᐅᒪᐢᑭᓀᓇ.	

7.65 **Transitive inanimate conjunct inflection.** The animate subject of a transitive inanimate verb is indicated in the ending; the number of the object is usually not indicated. The appropriate class marker appears at the beginning of the ending. The suffixes for the subject are the same as those for the animate intransitive verb.

CO Aaniish pii waa-wezhtooyan wi shkwaandem.	When are you going to fix the door?
WO Giishpin andawendaman gegoon, bizaan igo wiindamawishinaan.	If you want anything, just tell us.
SC Tânte kâ-ohtinahk ôma masinahikan.	Where did he get this book?
ᒋᐧᐁ ᑲ ᐅᐤᑎᓭˣ ᐅᒪ ᒪᓀᓭᐞᐃᑲᓇ.	

VAI2 verbs follow the same pattern and are indistinguishable in form from transitive inanimate verbs with an **-am** class marker.

CO Aaniish pii gaa-zaag'ang. — When did he go out?
WO Aan enendaman noongom gaa-giizhigak. — What are you thinking today?
SC Nipehtawâw e-ostostotahk. — I hear him coughing.
ᓂᐯᐟᑕᐧᐃᐧᐅ ᐁ ᐅᐢᑐᐢᑕᐠ.

7.66 **Transitive animate conjunct inflection.** As in the independent order, the subject and object can be first, second, or third person and singular or plural. A third-person subject or object may be obviative. If both the subject and object are third person, at least one of them must be obviative. The subject may also be inanimate (singular or plural) or indefinite. One or more suffixes in the ending specify the subject or the object, or both.

The subject and object cannot refer to the same person; thus there are no forms for an inclusive plural subject with a second-person object, as both of these would include the same person, the listener.

In many forms a direction marker appears at the beginning of the ending. The functions of the direction markers differ slightly from those seen in the independent verb.

7.67 **The direct marker.** The direct form is used with a first- or second-person subject and third-person object, but the direct marker itself does not appear in the neutral verb when the suffix for the subject and/or object immediately follows.

CO Begish waabmag. — I wish I could see her.
WO Giishpin noondawangidwaa gidochigewininiwag, gii-dagoshinoog iinzan. — If we hear the musicians, it means they have arrived.
SC Kipehtâtin e-ayamihat. — I hear you talking to her.
ᑭᐯᐟᒋᑎᐣ ᐁ ᐊᔭᒥᐟᐊᐟ.

The direct marker (**aa** in Ojibwe, **â** in Cree) is used when the subject is third-person non-obviative and the object is third-person obviative.

CO Aabiish gaa-mkawaawaad. — Where did they find him?
WO Amiii dash iinzan gaa-inaad, "Daga ingoji omaa." — Then he apparently said to him, "Get away from here!"
SC Kekât kî-wanikiskisiw ci-kihciwinât opanacîsa. — He almost forgot to take his pants with him.
ᖳᑲᐟ ᑭ ᐧᐊᓂᑭᑭᓯᐣ ᒋ ᑭᐟᒋᐧᐃᓇᐟ ᐅᐸᓇᒋᓴ.

7.68 **The inverse marker.** In most varieties of Cree and Ojibwe spoken in Ontario, the basic inverse marker is used in the conjunct order only when the subject is third-person obviative and the object is third-person non-obviative.

CO Miish niwi oosan gaa-wiindmaagod.	Then his father told him about it.
WO Gii-minwendamoog e-gii-gikenimigowaad.	They were happy that she had known them.
SC Kwayask kanawenimikot kata-minopanîpan.	If he is well looked after by him, it will be okay.
·ᑲᔾᐣ ᑲᓇ·ᐁᓂᒥᑯᐟ ᑲᑕᒥᓄᓂᐱᓇᑦ.	

7.69 **The me-object marker.** In most varieties of Cree and Ojibwe spoken in Ontario, the me-object form is used when the object is first person; the subject is either first or third person. The me-object marker usually takes the form **-i** in both Ojibwe and Cree, but may appear as **-ish** in some varieties of Ojibwe.

CO Giishpin naadmawyeg wewiib gdaa-giizhiitaami.	If you (plural) help me, we can finish in a hurry.
WO Wegonen gaa-biidamawishiyan.	What did you bring me?
SC Oški-kîšikânîpan kâ-peci-ayamihit.	It was on Monday that he came and talked to me.
ᐅᐢᑭ ᐱᔑᑲᓂᐱᓇᑦ ᑲ ᐯᒋ ᐊᔾᒥᐦᐃᐟ.	

7.70 **The you-object marker.** In most varieties of Cree and Ojibwe spoken in Ontario, the you-object form is used when the object is second person; the subject is either first or third person.

CO Wenesh gaa-waabmik.	Who saw you?
WO Aaniindi gaa-izhiwinik.	Where did he take you?
SC Môna kipehtawin e-tepwâtitân.	You didn't hear me when I called you.
ᒧᓇ ᑭᐯᐦᑕ·ᐃᐢ ᐁ ᑌ·ᐸᑎᑕᐢ.	

7.71 **Inverse and direct markers with indefinite subject.** As with the independent verb, a variant of the inverse form is used to indicate an indefinite subject with a first- or second-person object. The other parts of the ending are the same as for an animate intransitive verb. The

direct marker is used with a third-person object, but is deleted in the neutral mode.

CO Aaniipiish gaa-miingooyan. — When was it given to you?
WO Ningikenimaa e-gii-waabamind. — I know he was seen.
SC Kikihci-âhkosihtay ôta kâ-pešikawiyan. — You were really sick when you were brought here.
ᑭᑭᐟᒋ ᐊᐧᐦᑯᓱᐦᑕᔅ ᐅᑕ ᑲ ᐯᔑᑲ·ᐃᔭᐣ.

7.72 **Inverse marker with inanimate subject.** The inverse marker is used to indicate an inanimate subject; the object is indicated in the ending with an animate intransitive suffix.

CO Gaa wiikaa biiskanziinan ni shki-mkiznan e-wiisgikaagod. — She never wears those shoes as they hurt her feet.
WO Wegonen gaa-maanishkaagod. — What disagreed with him?
SC Nikiskenihten e-kî-âhkohikoyân. — I know that it is making me sick.
ᓂᑭᐢᑫᓂᐦᑎᓐ ᐁ ᑭ ᐊᐧᐦᑯᐦᐃᑯᔭᐣ.

7.73 Inflection of the Conjunct Verb for Tense

One or more tense prefixes may be used to indicate time other than the present, other ideas relating to the completion of the action, or such ideas as intention, possibility, or obligation. If the tense prefix is the first element of a verb, it may undergo initial change. The most common forms of the tense prefixes used with conjunct verbs are given below.

	Unchanged	*With Initial Change*
Ojibwe		
completed action (past tense)	gii-/gii'-	gaa-/gaa'-
future/modal	ji-	ge-
desiderative	wii-/wii'-	waa-/waa'-
Cree		
completed action (past tense)	kî- ᑭ	kâ ᑳ
future/modal	kici-, ci- ᑭᒋ, ᒋ	ke- ᑫ
desiderative	wî- ·ᐃ	wâ- ·ᐊ

7.74 Inflection of the Conjunct Verb for Negation

In Ojibwe, conjunct verbs may be negative. The ending of a negative conjunct verb includes the negative suffixes **-w** (which is often deleted) and **-si(i)**; a negative particle is not required.

CO Ngii-wiindmaagoo wii-miijsiwaanh wi. — I was told not to eat that.

WO Gii-giizisekwesig, gaawiin wiisinisii. — When he doesn't cook, he doesn't eat.

7.75 Inflection of the Conjunct Verb for Mode

The preterit, dubitative, and preterit-dubitative modes are indicated by suffixes in the ending of the verb. The other suffixes, such as those indicating the grammatical categories of the subject and/or object, negation, etc., may take different forms in the endings. When no mode suffix appears in the ending, a verb is said to be in the neutral mode.

7.76 **The preterit mode.** The preterit mode is used to emphasize completed action (action performed in the past and not continuing into the present) and intended but unrealized action. The verb ending includes the preterit suffix **-ba(a)(n)** (Ojibwe) or **-pan/-pân** (Cree).

CO Giishpin waabminaambaa gdaa-gii-wiindmoon. — If I had seen you, I would have told you.

WO Mii iwidi gaa-izhaayaambaan apii noondamaan e-gii-dagoshinan. — That's where I went as soon as I heard that you had arrived.

SC Nikî-wanikiskisin e-wî-petâyâpân nimasinahikan. — I forgot I was going to bring my book.

ᓂᐲ ᐋᑎᓂᑭᐢᑭᓯᐣ ᐁ ᐋᐧ ᐯᒋᔭᐠ
ᓂᒪᓱᓇᐦᐃᑲᐣ.

7.77 **The dubitative mode.** The dubitative mode is used to emphasize doubt or uncertainty about an action or event. The verb ending includes the dubitative suffixes **-w** and **-en/-enh** (Ojibwe) or **-e** (Cree).

CO Manj iidig gaa-kidgwenh. — I wonder what he said.

WO Awegwen gaa-gidamwaagwen nimbakwezhiganiman. — I wonder who ate up my bannock.

SC Tâni piko kâ-kîšihtâwâne. — I don't know whether I finished it or not.

ᒋᓂ ᐱᑯ ᑲ ᐲᔪᐦᒋᐧᐊᓐ.

7.78 **The preterit-dubitative mode.** The preterit-dubitative mode is used to emphasize uncertainty about past action or events, especially in reporting inferences made from uncertain evidence or things known from traditional accounts. The ending includes both preterit and dubitative suffixes.

CO Mii iidig maa gaa-taawaagbanenh chi-zhaazhi. — That's where they must have lived a long time ago.

WO Amii iinzan imaa gaa-dazhi-manoominikegobanen. — That's where he must have once made rice.

SC Tânika ite ešinihkâtekopane weškac. — I wonder what it was called long ago.
ᑕᓂᒃ ᐃᑌ ᐁᔑᓂᐣᑲᐦᑌᐢᑲᐳᓇᓐ ᐧᐁᖏᒃ.

7.79 ## Inflection of the Subjunctive Conjunct Verb

In Cree, the subjunctive verb is used in conditional clauses. Every conjunct verb has a corresponding subjunctive form, which is usually indicated by the addition of the suffix **-e** to the conjunct ending.

SC Môna kika-pôsinânaw cîmânihk nôtihke. — We're not going to go in the boat if it is windy.
ᒧᓇ ᑭᑲ ᐳᑭᓇᓇᐤ ᒋᒪᓂᐦ�during ᓄᑎᐦᑫ.

7.80 ## Process of Initial Change

In some varieties of Ojibwe and Cree, the verb undergoes a *process of initial change* in certain grammatical constructions. This process, when it applies, causes the first vowel in the verb to change. The change affects the first syllable of the first prefix, if there is one in the verb, or the first syllable of the stem, if there is no prefix in the verb. The regular pattern of initial change for one variety of each language is given below.

	Unchanged	*Changed*
CO	a	e
	i	e
	o	we
	aa	ayaa
	e	aye
	ii	aa
	oo	waa

WO In some Western dialects, the change is made as in Central Ojibwe; in others, the long vowels do not undergo the change.

	Unchanged		*Changed*	
SC	a	ᐊ	e	ᐁ
	i	ᐃ	e	ᐁ
	o	ᐅ	we	ᐧᐁ
	â	ᐋ	iyâ	ᐃᔭ
	e	ᐁ	iye	ᐃᔦ
	î	ᐄ	â	ᐋ
	ô	ᐆ	wâ	ᐧᐋ

7.81 Subordinating Prefixes

Subordinating prefixes only appear on conjunct verbs and mark the verb as being in a particular kind of subordinate clause. Sometimes subordinating prefixes combine with tense prefixes. Among the most common subordinating prefixes (except in varieties of Central Ojibwe) are the timeless (or *aorist*) prefix **e-** and the relativizer prefix **gaa-** (Ojibwe) or **kâ-** (Cree).

8

Stem Formation

8.1 Introduction

The nouns and verbs of Cree and Ojibwe typically consist of a *word stem* and *inflectional affixes*, which surround the stem:

inflectional prefixes + WORD STEM + inflectional suffixes

The stem, or core part of a word, carries the basic meaning or meanings of the word; the inflections show grammatical ideas and relationships.

Many word stems are made up of smaller word parts. Some of these parts are themselves words or word stems; others do not constitute word stems themselves, but appear again and again in different word stems, each time adding a particular meaning to the underlying stem. For example, all of the stems in the words below have a meaning that includes the idea of *through*, and all of them have an element in common:

CO	zhaabwaakde	it is burned through
	zhaabwaate	light filters through
WO	zhaabonigan	needle
SC	šâpocihceniw ᓱᐳᒋ"ᒉᓂᐤ	he/she puts his/her hand through
	šâpoškawew ᓱᐳᖬᐧᐁᐤ	he/she goes right through them (goes through the crowd)

A particular group of sounds (**zhaabw-** or **zhaabo-** in Ojibwe, **šâpo-** in Cree) appears in these and many other stems that include the idea of *through*. The sound group does not constitute a word or a word stem by itself. Because this sound group is often associated with the meaning *through*, the meaning can be said to be attached to the sound group,

which in turn can be considered a stem-forming element. This particular element typically occurs as the first element of a word stem.

Many Cree and Ojibwe words are made up of similar elements that act as building blocks in word stems. Each such element contains a particular group of sounds (which may vary in pronunciation depending on how it fits with other elements) and has a particular meaning or function and (usually) a particular position inside a stem. Word stems made up of such elements can also serve as building blocks in other stems, and these in turn inside others. Every time a stem-building element is added to another element or to a word stem, a meaning or function is added or changed and a new stem is created.

The process of assembling or building stems out of such elements or out of existing word stems is called *derivation*. There are three main ways of assembling word stems: by *primary derivation*, by *secondary derivation*, and through *composition*.

A stem formed by primary derivation, called a *primary stem*, is made up of one or more elements that are not word stems themselves. A stem formed by secondary derivation, called a *secondary stem*, is made up of an underlying word stem and at least one stem-building element. A stem formed through composition, known as a *compound stem*, contains a relatively independent element, such as a word stem or a *preverb* or *prenoun* that resembles an adverb or other particle, and a word stem. A verb stem may also be modified in meaning by a process of *reduplication*, in which a prefix, the form of which depends on the sounds in the first syllable of the stem, is added to the front of the stem.

The patterns of stem derivation are not as regular as those of inflection, which, with very few exceptions, follow established rules. Word stems belonging to a particular word class will usually follow the pattern of inflections established for that word class. The patterns of derivation, however, are both more complex and more varied. Small groups of word stems will follow a common pattern, but, even within these small groups, many exceptions will occur.

A teacher of Native languages has remarked that studying the stem-building elements of Native languages and the patterns by which they are put together is like studying the thought pattern of the languages. As important as inflection is to the operation of the languages, it is in derivation that the distinctive and meaningful core of the languages is most apparent. In examining the composition of word stems, we are looking at very old but still creative and changing aspects of the languages. To become really fluent in Cree or Ojibwe, a student has to learn to understand and to make up new combinations of stem-building elements and to do so in accordance with the established patterns of the language.

Because some stem-building elements occur frequently and are easy to identify, teachers might be tempted to break all of the word stems they teach down into elements or other words. This may prove a tricky and even dangerous practice, since there are many elements that are pronounced in the same way as, or that sound similar to, other elements, but that have different meanings or positions. Breaking down stems into their elements and analysing them and describing the patterns of stem formation can often be a complex process, and teachers should make sure that their explanation and patterns apply to more than one stem before using them in class.

There is still much to be learned about derivation, the sounds of the stem-forming elements, their patterns of arrangement, their meanings, and their history. This section on stem formation is intended primarily to introduce teachers of the Native languages to one way of looking at these elements and their patterns. Consequently, it should be noted that only the most basic kinds of stem-building patterns are discussed here, and that there are many other types of elements and patterns that are not dealt with. Most important, teachers should keep in mind that using a wide variety of stems in real words and sentences is often a better way to teach them than just analysing or explaining them.

In this discussion of derivation, the word stems given as examples appear in fully inflected forms; uninflected forms appear odd and are hard to pronounce or recognize as being part of Cree or Ojibwe. In most cases, they are given in relatively simple inflected forms, and as often as possible in forms that contain no overt inflectional affix, or only one. Thus nouns are given, where possible, in the singular form, and verbs are given in the independent order with a third-person subject, or a third-person subject and object, because the inflectional affixes in these forms are not very prominent, often being in the zero form. The stems in the words under discussion are underlined. When a particular element of the stem is under discussion, that element is underlined twice.

When stems or stem-building elements are identified in the text, they are preceded (for suffixes) or followed (for prefixes and stems) by a hyphen to indicate that they are not full words, but only parts of words. In writing such elements, the connective sounds that may appear between elements when they are assembled into stems are usually omitted. There are several other pronunciation rules whose function is to adjust the sounds of elements and stems when they are put together, which are not discussed in this outline. It should also be noted that in Central Ojibwe the pronunciation rule called *syncope* often causes vowels to be dropped, so that the pattern of vowels in a given element will vary according to the position of the element in the word in which it appears.

8.2 Verb Stems

8.3 *Primary Verb Stems*

8.4 Primary Verb Stems With Two Elements

A primary verb stem is one that contains no other word stems inside it. Many primary verb stems have two identifiable elements, neither of which is a word stem itself. The first element is called an *initial* and the second element is called a *final* in accordance with their relative positions. Various kinds of elements can serve as initials in stems; in a primary stem, the initial is a *root*.

INITIAL (root) + FINAL

For example, in the stem of the word most commonly translated as *runs*, there are actually two elements – an initial root conveying direction (*by*, *past*, or *along*) and a final identifying the action (*run*).

CO	bmibtoo	he/she runs by, along
WO	bimibatoo	
SC	pimipahtâw	
	ᐱᒥᐸᐦᑖᐤ	

8.5 **Identifying stem-building elements.** It is not possible to determine the composition of a particular word stem by looking at that stem in isolation. In other words, one cannot distinguish the various parts that make up the stem of a word or determine their meaning by looking at the one word alone. To discover the patterns of derivation, one must compare words that are in some way related in meaning in order to see if they also have a distinctive group of sounds in common (even if these are pronounced slightly differently owing to pronunciation rules). When such a group of sounds (or related sounds) is found to recur in a group of stems that are related in meaning, the group of sounds is identified with the meaning and is considered a stem-building element. For example, if one looks at several verbs that share the meaning *run* (it is important to determine that they are, in fact, different stems and not just different inflected forms of a single stem), one finds that a particular group of sounds recurs in each stem.

CO	bmibtoo	he/she runs by, along
	gshkibtoo	he/she is able to run
	bgambatoo	he/she arrives running
WO	bimibatoo	he/she runs by, along
	onjibatoo	he/she runs from a certain place
	bejibatoo	he/she runs slowly

SC	pimipahtâw	he/she runs by, along
	ᐱᒥᐱᐦᑖᐤ	
	takopahtâw	he/she arrives running
	ᑕᑯᐱᐦᑖᐤ	
	kînikwânipahtâw	he/she runs in a circle
	ᑭᓂᑳᐧᐃᓂᐱᐦᑖᐤ	

The recurring group of sounds in the verbs that share the meaning *run* can be identified as a stem-building element. Since this common element appears at the end of the stem, it is called a *final*.

CO	-btoo, -batoo	run
WO	-batoo	
SC	-pahtâ	
	ᐦᑖ	

In this process of analysis and discovery, the identification of each element should be verified by examining as many different stems as possible that are related in meaning. The sounds, the meaning, and the relative position of the stem-building element should be the same or similar in each stem. For example, in some instances, one may find that two different elements are pronounced the same way but have different meanings.

This method of analysing families of stems that are related in meaning and form can also be used to identify the root of the stems. For example, if one examines the stems below, which are related in meaning and share the same group of sounds, one can identify three different roots, one in each language.

CO	bgambatoo	he/she arrives running
	bgamse	he/she arrives walking
WO	bejibatoo	he/she runs slowly
	bedose	he/she walks slowly
SC	kînikwânipahtâw	he/she runs in a circle
	ᑭᓂᑳᐧᐃᓂᐱᐦᑖᐤ	
	kînikwânohtew	he/she walks in a circle
	ᑭᓂᑳᐧᐃᓄᐦᑌᐤ	

Analysis of the same group of stems also reveals a new final in each language.

CO	-se	walk
WO	-ose	
SC	-ohte	
	ᐦᑌ	

The list of stems above also presents examples of the way sounds in an element may change when they combine with other elements. In the Western Ojibwe word **bejibatoo** (*runs slowly*), the two elements are joined by a connective **i** necessitated by a pronunciation rule. The root ends in **j** when it appears in front of this connective, but otherwise ends in **d**, as in the stem **bedose** (*walks slowly*). The same connective appears in the Cree word **kînikwânipahtâw** (*runs in a circle*), but here the use of the connective does not result in any sound changes in the root. Many of these kinds of variations are determined by regular pronunciation rules that are not discussed in this outline.

8.6 **The meanings of roots and finals.** Many roots can be translated by adjectives or adverbs in English; others call for the use of a different verb; still others have no single-word equivalent. The following list of English words and phrases is intended to give some indication of the variety of concepts and ideas that can be conveyed by roots in Cree and Ojibwe: *good; up against something; sticky; fast; flat; cold; testing; in plain view; five; in a certain place; sticking out of a surface; in a certain manner.*

Verb finals usually identify a state, process, or action, and can often be translated in English by verbs or by phrases that describe the means by which an action or event comes about. The list below gives some indication of the variety of ideas that can be conveyed by distinct finals in Cree and Ojibwe: *be; grow; blown by wind; with a tool; by heat; fly; stand; by mouth; by cutting with blade.*

The final not only adds a certain meaning to the verb stem, but also determines whether the word is a noun or a verb. If the word is a verb, the final often determines its class – whether it is animate intransitive, transitive animate, or one of the other verb types. Verb types are often paired by transitivity and gender; that is, animate intransitive verbs are paired with inanimate intransitive verbs, and transitive animate verbs are paired with their transitive inanimate counterparts. The difference between an animate intransitive verb and its inanimate intransitive counterpart usually lies in their finals, as may be seen in the following pairs:

CO	mskwaa	it (inanimate) is red
	mskozi	it (animate) is red
WO	jaagide	it (inanimate) burns
	jaagizo	it (animate) burns
SC	pahkihtin <"ᑭ"ᑎᐣ	it (inanimate) falls
	pahkišin <"ᑭᔅᐣ	it (animate) falls

Similarly, the difference between transitive animate verbs and their transitive inanimate counterparts lies in their finals. In the three sets of transitive inanimate verbs below, the root *through* appears with several finals, each indicating a difference in the manner in which the action of the verb – *to go through* – is carried out:

CO wzhaabshkaan
WO ozhaaboshkaan
SC šâpoškam
ᓱ>ᖽᐢᒼ
he/she goes through it with foot or body

CO wzhaabga'aan
WO ozhaaboga'aan
SC šâpokaham
ᓱ>ᑲᐟᐦᐨ
he/she chops through it (*literally* he/she goes through it by chopping)

CO wzhaabnaan
WO ozhaabonaan
SC šâponam
ᓱ>ᓇᐢ
he/she goes through it by using the hand (as in putting a needle through cloth)

In the transitive animate counterparts of these verbs, some slight differences may be observed in the finals. In the first two cases below, something has been added to the finals that appeared in the transitive inanimate verbs; in the last case, the final is the same as that in the transitive inanimate verb.

CO wzhaabshkawaan
WO ozhaaboshkawaan/ ozhaaboshkawaa'
SC šâpoškawew
ᓱ>ᖽᐢ·∇ᐤ
he/she goes through him/her/them (or some animate thing) with foot or body (as in getting through a crowd)

CO wzaabga'waan
WO ozhaaboga'waan
SC šâpokahwew
ᓱ>ᑲᐟᐦ·∇ᐤ
he/she goes through it (some animate thing) by chopping

CO wzhaabnaan
WO ozhaabonaan
SC šâponew
ᓱ>ᓇᐤ
he/she goes through it (some animate thing) by using the hand

Some roots and finals may themselves consist of smaller parts.

8.7 Primary Verb Stems With Three Elements

Some primary stems are composed of three elements – a root that serves as the initial, an intervening element called a medial, and the final. One or more medials may appear between the root initial and the final.

INITIAL (root) + MEDIAL(S) + FINAL

8.8 **Medials.** Medials usually refer to things or kinds of things and may be divided into several groups.

8.9 *Classificatory medials.* Many medials loosely describe or classify the thing associated with the verb and are consequently called *classifiers*. In each of the following Central Ojibwe examples, the medial gives some indication of the nature of the thing that is the subject of the verb:

CO	gnwegad	it (something sheet-like) is long
	gnwaabiigad	it (something string-like) is long
	gnwaabkad	it (something of metal or stone) is long
	gnwaakwad/gnwaakod	it (something of wood or stick-like) is long

In the preceding list of examples, the roots and the finals are the same; the medials, however, differ.

INITIAL (root)	+ MEDIAL(S)	+ FINAL
gnw-	-eg-	-ad
	-aabiig-	
	-aabk-	
	-aakw-	

There is a parallel verb without a medial that can be used to describe any kind of inanimate subject. Note that its final (**-aa**) differs from the finals that appeared in the previous examples:

gnwaa	it is long

8.10 *Body-part medials.* Some medials refer to body parts. Thus many verbs that describe or in some way involve a part of the body contain a medial that refers to that part of the body. For example, each of the following Western Ojibwe verbs describes a person with a swelling in some part of the body. In each verb, the medial names the body part. The final is **-e**.

WO	baagishangwane	he/she has a swollen nose
	baagigaade	he/she has a swollen leg
	baagiingwe	he/she has a swollen face

As in the previous list of examples (see section 8.9), the roots and finals remain the same; the body-part medials differ.

INITIAL (root)	+ MEDIAL(S)	+ FINAL
baag-	-shangwan-	-e
	-gaad-	
	-iingw-	

8.11 *Other types of medials.* There are many medials that do not fit into the two groups discussed above. Some, for example, identify natural features. In the following Swampy Cree examples, a single root appears in three stems – one containing a classificatory medial, one containing a body-part medial, and one containing a medial that identifies a natural feature.

SC	tahkâpiskâw ᒐᐦᑲᐱᐢᑳᐤ	it (something of metal or stone) is cold
	tahkisitew ᒐᐦᑭᓯᑌᐤ	his/her foot is cold
	tahkaskamikâw ᒐᐦᑲᐢᑲᒥᑳᐤ	the ground is cold

8.12 *Denominal medials.* Some verb roots have a noun stem as a medial. Such medials are called *denominal medials*. The use of denominal medials is a form of noun incorporation because the noun stem is taken into the body of the verb as a medial. The examples below are from Cree:

SC	astotin ᐊᔅᑐᑎᐢ	hat
	ketastotinew ᑭᑦᔅᑐᑎᓄᐤ	he/she takes off his/her own hat

SC pîsiskâkan — coat
ᐱᓯᖽᐧᒃᑲᐣ

kecipîsiskâkanew — he/she takes off his/her own coat
ᑫᒋᐱᓯᖽᐧᒃᑲᓇᐤ

The noun stem may undergo some changes when incorporated. In the following Western Ojibwe example, the first sound of the noun stem is dropped when the noun stem is taken into the verb as a denominal medial:

WO makizin — moccasin, shoe
aandakizine — he/she changes shoes

8.13 Primary Verb Stems With One Element

Some primary stems cannot be broken down into identifiable units that can be traced in other stems. The following word stem is an example:

CO bi — he/she sits, is at home
WO abi
SC apiw
ᐊᐱᐤ

8.14 *Secondary Verb Stems*

A secondary stem is made up of an underlying word stem and one or more stem-building elements. The secondary stem will often belong to a different word class or type than the original stem and will have a meaning different from, but related to, that of the original stem.

In a secondary stem, the underlying word stem serves as the initial and appears with a final. Medials are optional.

INITIAL (word stem) + MEDIAL(S) + FINAL

Some of the finals used in secondary stems are the same as those used in primary stems. In the following set of examples, the primary verb stem *go home* serves as the initial of a secondary stem with the final *run* (underlined twice):

CO giiwe — he/she goes home
WO giiwe
SC kîwew
ᑭ·ᐁᐤ

CO	giiwebtoo	he/she runs home
WO	giiwebatoo	
SC	kîwepahtâw	
	ᑭ·∇<"ᑕo	

There are other finals used in secondary derivation that rarely appear in primary derivation. For example, **-aw** or **-amaw** can be added to a transitive inanimate stem to form a double-object transitive animate stem, often with the meaning *do (something to) it for him/her.*

CO	wdoozhtoon	he/she makes it
WO	wdoozhitoon	
SC	ošihtâw	
	ᐅᔨ"ᑕo	

CO	wdoozhtamwaan	he/she makes it for him/her
WO	wdoozhitamawaan	
SC	ošihtamawew	
	ᐅᔨ"ᑕᒪ·∇o	

Secondary stems can themselves undergo derivation, resulting in chains of finals in stems. In the Cree example below, the noun stem **šwâp** (*store*) serves as the initial of a verb having the secondary final **-hke** (*make, process, gather*). The resulting animate intransitive stem, **šwâpihke-**, means *go shopping.*

šwâp	store
·ᓱ'	
šwâpihkew	he/she goes shopping
·ᓱᐱ"ᐘo	

This stem in turn can be the initial element of a secondary transitive animate stem having the secondary final **-štamaw** (which itself probably has layers of parts). The resulting transitive stem, **šwâpihkeštamaw-**, means *go shopping for it for him/her.*

šwâpihkeštamawew	he/she goes shopping for it for him/her
·ᓱᐱ"ᐘᑕᒪ·∇o	

Even further layers are possible. Another final can be added to form a reflexive intransitive verb, as shown in the example below:

šwâpihkeštamâsow	he/she goes shopping for it for himself/herself
·ᓱᐱ"ᐘᑕᒪᔪo	

8.15 Secondary Verb Stems With Final Suffixes That Change Verb Type

Some finals change the verb type of the underlying stem; that is, they change the relationship between a subject and an object or add a subject or an object. A few common patterns are illustrated below.

8.16 **Reciprocal verbs.** In a reciprocal verb, an animate intransitive final suffix is added to an underlying transitive stem to indicate that the action of the verb is reciprocal or mutual. In Ojibwe, the final suffix of a reciprocal verb is most often **-di-**; in Cree, **-to-**.

CO	nnaadmawaa	I help him/her
	nnaadmaadmi	we help each other
WO	ozaagi'aan	he/she loves him/her
	zaagi'idiwag	they love each other
SC	ayamihew	he/she speaks to him/her
	ᐊᔭᒥᐦᐁᐤ ᐁᐧ	
	ayamihitowak	they speak to each other
	ᐊᔭᒥᐦᐃᑐᐧᐊᒃ	

The reciprocity of the action is not always obvious in English, as is evident in the translation of the reciprocal verb in this Western Ojibwe example:

zagaswe'idiwag	they have a council meeting or formal ceremony (*literally* they have a mutual smoke)

8.17 **Reflexive verbs.** In a reflexive verb, an animate intransitive final is added to an underlying transitive stem to indicate that the action of the verb is directed by the subject at himself or herself. In Ojibwe, the reflexive final suffix in secondary stems is most often **-dizo-**; in Cree, it is **-tiso-** or **-so-**.

CO	wdoodwaan	he/she does something to him/her
	doodaadzo	he/she does something to himself/herself
WO	ogichi-inenimaan	he/she thinks highly of him/her
	gichi-inenindizo	he/she thinks highly of himself/herself
SC	ayamihew	he/she talks to him/her
	ᐊᔭᒥᐦᐁᐤ ᐁᐧ	
	ayamihitisow	he/she talks to himself/herself
	ᐊᔭᒥᐦᐃᑎᓱᐤ	

8.18 **Transitivized verb stems.** In a transitivized verb stem, a transitive final is added to an underlying verb stem, allowing inflection for an object or an additional object.

CO	wdoozhtoon	he/she makes it
	wdoozhtamwaan	he/she makes it for him/her
WO	anokii	he/she works
	odanokiitawaan	he/she works for him/her
SC	nîmiw ᓂᒥᐧ	he/she dances
	nîmihew ᓂᒥᐧᐦᐁᐧ	he/she makes him/her dance

8.19 **Detransitivized verb stems.** In a detransitivized verb stem, an intransitive final is added to an underlying transitive stem. Such detransitivized stems eliminate the idea of a specific object by directing the action of the verb to a generalized goal. The final suffixes in detransitivized verb stems in Ojibwe are most often **-ge** and **-we**; in Cree, **-ke** and **-we**.

CO	wbaashkzaan	he/she shoots it
	baashkzige	he/she shoots things
WO	omawadisaan	he/she visits him/her
	mawadishiwe	he/she visits people
SC	masinaham ᒪᐢᐃᓇᐦᐁᐧᐣ	he/she writes it
	masinahikew ᒪᐢᐃᓇᐦᐃᑫᐧ	he/she writes things

8.20 **Verbs of undergoing.** In an intransitive verb of undergoing – a verb in which the subject undergoes some action by an unspecified agent – an intransitive final is added to an underlying transitive stem. Such verbs are often translated in English by the passive voice or the use of an indefinite subject. The finals most often used in such verbs in Ojibwe are **-gaade** and **-gaazo**; in Cree, **-kâte** and **-kâso**.

CO	wwaabndaan	he/she sees it
	waabnjigaazo	he/she is seen; "they" see him/her
WO	odoozhibii'aan	he/she writes (on) it
	ozhibii'igaade	it is written (on); "they" write (on) it
SC	kipaham ᑭᐱᐦᐁᐧᐣ	he/she closes it up
	kipahikâtew ᑭᐱᐦᐃᑳᑌᐧ	it is closed up; "they" close it up

Other finals added to transitive stems contain the inverse direction marker. The underlying verb usually expresses ideas of perception or evaluation.

CO	wminwendaan	he/she thinks well of it, likes it
	mnwendaagwad/mnwendaagod	it is well thought of, liked
WO	ogikendaan	he/she knows it
	gikendaagozi	he/she is known to..., is suspected of...
SC	pehtawew V"Ć·∇o	he/she hears him/her
	pehtâkosiw V"Ćdᐟo	he/she makes himself/herself heard

8.21 **Inanimate augment verbs.** In some languages, an optional final, often called *the inanimate augment*, can be added to an inanimate intransitive stem. The same final can be added to an animate intransitive stem to form an inanimate intransitive stem when the animate intransitive verb has no inanimate counterpart. The augment final in Ojibwe is **-mgad**, **-magad**, or **-magan**; in Cree, **-makan**. The Central Ojibwe example illustrates the optional use of this final on an inanimate intransitive stem; the other examples show how it can be added to animate intransitive stems to form inanimate stems.

CO	gzhaate or gzhaatemgad	it is hot weather
WO	dagoshin	he/she arrives
	dagoshinoomagan	it arrives
SC	itohtew ΔↃ"Uo	he/she goes to a certain place
	itohtemakan ΔↃ"ULb᾽	it goes to a certain place

8.22 Secondary Verb Stems With Final Suffixes That Extend Meaning

Some finals do not change the stem type of the underlying stem, but extend the meaning of the original verb stem. A few common types are illustrated in sections 8.23 and 8.24.

8.23 **Verbs of addiction.** A verb of addiction, which is used to indicate a habitual state or action, often with a negative flavour, is usually formed by adding an intransitive final suffix to an underlying verb stem. The final suffix in such verbs in Ojibwe is **-shki**; in Cree, **-ški**.

CO	gtimi	he/she is reluctant to do something
	gtimishki	he/she is habitually lazy
WO	gimoodi	he/she is stealing
	gimoodishki	he/she is a thief
SC	metawew	he/she is playing
	ᒣᒡ·ᐁᐣ	
	metaweškiw	he/she is always just playing
	ᒣᒡ·ᐁᔅᑭᐣ	

8.24 **Verbs of pretending.** A verb of pretending, which is used to express the idea that someone is pretending to be or to do something, is usually formed by adding an intransitive final suffix to an underlying verb stem or noun stem. The final suffix in such verbs in Ojibwe is **-kaazo**; in Cree, **-hkâso**.

CO	binoojiinh	child
	binoojiinhkaazo	he/she pretends to be a child
WO	Anishinaabe	Native person
	Anishinaabekaazo	he/she pretends to be a Native person
SC	mâtow	he/she cries
	ᒪᐟᑐᐣ	
	mâtôhkâsow	he/she pretends to cry
	ᒪᐟᑐᐦᑳᓱᐣ	

8.25 Secondary Verb Stems With Final Suffixes That Change Nouns Into Verbs

Some finals change the underlying noun stem into a verb stem. A few common verb stems of this type are illustrated below.

8.26 **Verbs of being.** A verb of being can be formed by adding an intransitive final suffix to an underlying noun stem. The most common finals used are **-(w)i** and **-(w)an**. In some language varieties, a construction using a noun and a separate verb is preferred.

CO	nishnaabe	Native person
	nishnaabewi	he/she is a Native person
WO	bingwi	ashes
	bingwiiwan	it is covered with ashes (*literally* it is ashy)

SC	okimâw ᐅᑭᒪᐤ	boss, manager
	okimâwiw ᐅᑭᒪᐤᐊᐤ	he/she is boss or manager

8.27 **Verbs of diminutive action.** In some varieties of Ojibwe and in Cree, a diminutive verb is used to indicate that an action is performed on a relatively small scale or that someone small is involved in the action. In Ojibwe, a diminutive verb can be formed by making the underlying verb stem into a diminutive noun and adding a suffix for a verb of being.

CO	bmibtoo	he/she runs
	bmibtoonswi	he/she runs a little

In Cree, the diminutive verb is formed by adding a suffix (sometimes considered to be inflectional rather than derivational) to the underlying verb stem. Some of the sounds in the stem may change when the diminutive suffix is added; in the example below, the **t** may be replaced by **c**.

SC	mâtow ᒪᐟᑐᐤ	he/she cries
	mâtošiw/mâcošiw ᒪᐟᑐᔅᐃᐤ / ᒪᐟᒑᔅᐃᐤ	he/she cries a little

8.28 **Verbs of abundance.** A verb of abundance, which is used to express the idea that the thing referred to in the underlying stem is present or is present in abundance, can be formed by the addition of a secondary final to a noun stem (or, less commonly, a verb stem). In Ojibwe, the final of such verbs is **-kaa**; in Cree, **-skâ**.

CO	zgime	mosquito
	zgimekaa	there are (a lot of) mosquitoes
WO	manoomin	wild rice
	manoominikaa	there is (a lot of) wild rice
SC	ininiw ᐃᓂᓂᐤ	person
	ininîskâw ᐃᓂᓂᐦᑳᐤ	there are (a lot of) people

8.29 **Verbs of making or processing.** A verb of making or processing can be formed by the addition of a secondary suffix to a noun stem (or, less commonly, a verb stem). In Ojibwe, the final is **-ke**; in Cree, **-hke**.

CO	nboob/mboob	soup
	nboobiike/mboobiike	he/she makes soup
WO	jiimaan	canoe
	jiimaanike	he/she makes canoes
SC	maskisin	moccasin, shoe
	ᒪᐢᑭᓯᐣ	
	maskisinihkew	he/she makes moccasins, shoes
	ᒪᐢᑭᓯᓂᐦᑭᐤ	

8.30 **Verbs of possession.** A verb of possession can be formed by the addition of a secondary suffix to a possessed noun with a third-person prefix (and the possessive suffix, if required). The final of such verbs is **-i**.

CO	zhoonyaa	money
	wzhoonyaaman	his/her money
	wzhoonyaami	he/she has money
WO	waakaa'igan	house
	owaakaa'igan	his/her house
	owaakaa'igani	he/she has a house(s)
SC	otâpânâsk	skidoo
	ᐅᑐᐢᑲᓇᐢᐠ	
	otôtâpânâskwa	his/her skidoo
	ᐅᑐᑐᐢᑲᓇᐢᐣᐧᑲ	
	otôtâpânâskow	he/she has a skidoo(s)
	ᐅᑐᑐᐢᑲᓇᐢᐣᐧᐤ	

8.31 *Compound Verb Stems*

Two kinds of stems have traditionally been treated as compounds: *stem compounds* and *preverb compounds*.

8.32 Stem Compounds

A stem compound is formed by the addition of a noun stem or verb stem to the front of a verb stem. The resulting compound verb stem extends the meaning of the original verb stem. Inflectional suffixes are added to the end of the compound stem; most inflectional prefixes are

added to the front of the compound stem. The pattern of this kind of compound verb stem is:

WORD STEM + VERB STEM
(noun or verb stem)

CO	naawkwe	it is noon
	wiisni	he/she eats
	naawkwe-wiisni	he/she eats the noon meal
WO	ojiindiwag	they kiss each other
	giizhigan	it is a day
	ojiindiwi-giizhigan	it is New Year's Day
SC	kîwew	he/she returns, goes home
	ᑭ·∇o	
	pakitinam	he/she puts it down
	<ᑭᑎᓇᐟ	
	kîwe-pakitinam	he/she puts it back down
	ᑭ·∇ <ᑭᑎᓇᐟ	

8.33 Preverb Compounds

A preverb compound is formed by the addition of a word- or root-like prefix to a verb stem. As in the stem compounds, the first element of the compound modifies the verb stem to which it is added. Inflectional suffixes are added to the end and most prefixes to the front of the compound stem. More than one preverb may appear in a verb. The overall pattern of this type of compound stem is:

PREVERB(S) + VERB STEM

Some preverbs are word parts that occur only as preverbs; these include tense and subordinating prefixes, which in this outline have been treated as inflectional prefixes. Other preverbs are related in form and meaning to verb roots. A few such preverbs are discussed below.

8.34 **Directional preverbs.** Directional preverbs indicate direction in space or time.

CO	bi-biindge	he/she comes inside
WO	ando-wiisini	he/she goes over to eat
SC	peci-otinam	he/she comes and gets it
	ᐯᒋ ᐅᑎᓇᐟ	

8.35 **Relative preverbs.** Relative preverbs refer to ideas of manner, place, number, or other such adverbial ideas, but usually relate these ideas to specific words or phrases outside the verb. These more specific words or phrases are said to be the antecedents of the relative preverbs.

CO	nji-googii	he/she dives from a certain place
WO	daso-biboonwe	he/she is of a certain age (*literally* he/she is of a certain number of winters)
SC	iši-apiw ᐃᔅ ᐊᐱᐤ	he/she sits in a certain place

8.36 **General preverbs.** This group of preverbs includes the most root-like (or word-like) preverbs, which can express a wide range of meanings.

CO	mno-giizhgad	it is a nice day
WO	midaaso-diba'iganeyaa	it is ten o'clock
SC	nihtâ-mâtow ᓂᐦᑖ᙭ ᒪᑐᐤ	he/she cries a lot

In many varieties of Ojibwe, preverbs usually occur in this order: directional preverb, relative preverb, general preverb(s).

8.37 **Relationship of preverbs and roots.** Many preverbs are the same or nearly the same in both pronunciation and meaning as verb roots. The most obvious difference between the two is that when a preverb is taken out of a verb, the remaining element is still a real word, whereas when the root is taken out of a word, the remaining element is no longer a word or word stem and the stem collapses. Thus, in the first example below, the root **izhi-** in Western Ojibwe, meaning *in a certain way, to a certain place*, is an essential element of the stem and cannot be taken away. In the second example, its related preverb, which has the same meaning, is an element that has been added to an existing stem (**bagidin-**).

WO	nindizhiwidoon	I take it to a certain place
	nindizhi-bagidinaan	I put it down in a certain place

8.38 *Reduplicated Verbs*

A reduplicated verb is one in which the first element of a verb stem has been extended by *reduplication* – a process that adds the idea of repetition, distribution in space or time, or plurality to the original verb stem. A reduplicated verb is formed by adding a prefix, which in many cases duplicates some of the sounds in the first syllable of the stem, to the front of the stem. In Cree and some varieties of Ojibwe, a verb stem can have more than one pattern of reduplication, and each pattern may have a different meaning. Translation may vary depending on how a reduplicated verb is used in a sentence. The reduplication is underlined with a double rule in the examples below.

CO	niimi	he/she dances
	naaniimi	he/she dances and dances
WO	ozhaashishin	he/she slips and falls
	wawizhaashishin	he/she slips and falls over and over
SC	nôskâw ᓄᐢᑲᐧᐣᐤ	it is soft
	nônôskâw ᓄᓄᐢᑲᐧᐣᐤ	it is soft all over

Some descriptive verbs may be reduplicated when plural, as illustrated in the following Cree example:

SC	mišâw ᒥᔩᐧᐣᐤ	it is big
	mâmišâwa ᒪᒥᔩᐧᐣᐊ	they are big

8.39 **Noun Stems**

8.40 *Primary Noun Stems*

Many noun stems cannot be broken down into identifiable elements and so are seen as having only one element in the stem.

CO	shkode	fire
WO	ishkode	
SC	iškotew ᐃᐢᑳᑌᐤ	

A few primary noun stems consist of two elements – an initial and a final. In the example below, a root is followed by a final that means *metal, stone.*

CO	biiwaabik	iron
WO	biiwaabik	
SC	pîwâpisk	
	ᐲᐧᐁᐸᐢᐠ	

8.41 *Secondary Noun Stems*

Many noun stems are derived from verb stems by the addition of a secondary final. The finals used in noun stems generally differ from those used in verb stems. One or more medials may also occur.

INITIAL (word stem)	+ MEDIAL(S)	+ FINAL

In the examples below, the final is underlined in the noun.

CO	baashkzige	he/she shoots
	baashkzigan	gun
WO	wiisini	he/she eats
	wiisiniiwigamig	restaurant
SC	pimâtisiw	he/she lives
	ᐱᒪᑎᓯᐤ	
	pimâtisiwin	life
	ᐱᒪᑎᓯᐧᐃᐣ	

A noun, even if it is itself a secondary noun, may be the initial element of a secondary noun stem. The underlying noun in the Central Ojibwe example is a primary noun; the underlying nouns in the other examples are themselves formed by secondary derivation.

CO	niibiish	leaf
	niibiishaaboo	tea
WO	mazina'igan	book, document
	mazina'iganaak	pencil
SC	cîkahikan	axe
	ᒋᑲᐦᐃᑲᐣ	
	cîkahikanâhtik	axe handle
	ᒋᑲᐦᐃᑲᓇᐦᑎᐠ	

8.42 *Compound Noun Stems*

8.43 Stem Compounds

A compound noun stem is composed of a modifying noun or verb stem and a noun stem. Connective sounds may appear between the two underlying stems. The pattern of compound noun stems is:

WORD STEM + NOUN STEM (noun or verb stem)

CO	wiigwaas	birch bark
	makak	box
	wiigwaas-makak	birch-bark box
WO	aki	land
	mazina'igan	book, document
	akii-mazina'igan	map
SC	niska	Canada goose
	ᓂᐢᑲ	
	pîsim	sun, month
	ᐲᓭᒼ	
	niski-pîsim	April
	ᓂᐢᑭᐸ ᐲᓭᒼ	

8.44 Prenoun Compounds

A prenoun compound is composed of a modifying prenoun and a noun stem. Many prenouns are identical to preverbs. The pattern of prenoun compounds is:

PRENOUN(S) + NOUN STEM

CO	jiimaan	boat
	gchi-jiimaan	big boat
WO	mazinaakizigan	picture
	gete-mazinaakizigan	old-style picture
SC	masinahikan	book
	ᒪᓯᓇᐦᐃᑲᐣ	
	oški-masinahikan	new book
	ᐅᔨᐸ ᒪᓯᓇᐦᐃᑲᐣ	

Appendix
Verb Charts

General Instructions for Filling Out the Verb Charts

Before you begin, make copies of the master charts in this document. Write only on the copies so that the blank master charts can be used to make additional copies as needed.

Start by filling in one set of charts for each main class of verbs (animate intransitive, inanimate intransitive, etc.), using a single sample stem for each. The immediate imperative and the neutral modes of the independent and conjunct verbs are the easiest charts to fill in, so it is a good idea to start with these. You can proceed with the other modes when you are more familiar with the chart forms and more confident in using them.

Check the completed charts with someone who speaks the same variety of the language as you do. As the charts are designed to cover a number of language varieties in Ontario, no one variety will fit the charts exactly. In other words, you will probably find that you cannot provide all the forms suggested in the charts either because some of the forms suggested do not exist in your language or because they are rarely used. The asterisks in the charts indicate the forms that are likely to occur only in some language varieties.

The exact form of an ending may vary slightly from one stem to another depending on the stem class. The stem class is determined by the last or last two sounds of the stem. For example, animate intransitive stems ending in **-n** take endings that differ slightly in form from those of animate intransitive stems that end in a vowel. A list of the most important stem classes in each main verb class is given for each language, along with the English translations of sample stems that are likely to belong to each class. Once you have completed and checked your first charts, you can select stems from different stem classes and fill out charts for them to see if the endings show different forms.

Ojibwe Verb Charts

For the imperative order, you will need three charts for each sample stem – one for the immediate mode, one for the delayed mode, and one for the prohibitive mode. For the independent order, you will need eight charts for each sample stem – one each for the

positive and negative forms in the four modes (neutral, preterit, dubitative, and preterit dubitative). For the conjunct order, you will need four charts – one for each of the four modes – and, if your language has negative conjunct verbs, an additional four charts – one for each of the negative modes. Additional charts may be prepared for relational verbs and conjunct participles, if either or both of these forms occur in your language.

Stem Classes and Suggested Sample Stems

1. Animate Intransitive Paradigm

VAI i-stems: dance, laugh, get on board

VAI o-stems: sing, see oneself, sweat

VAI aa-stems: get off (disembark), sleep, leave, go to a certain place

VAI e-stems: enter, go home, walk

VAI ii-stems: work, flee

VAI oo-stems: run

VAI n-stems: be lost, fall down

VAI2 stems (with VTI class marker **-am**): go outside, cough, think so

2. Inanimate Intransitive Paradigm

VII long vowel stems: be big, be flat, be in a certain place

VII o-stems and i-stems (in some varieties these end in **-in** and **-on**): be a good road, be a good liquid

VII d/n-stems (showing **-d** in some varieties and **-n** in others): be difficult, taste good

VII n-stems: fall down, be lost, be heavy

3. Transitive Inanimate Paradigm

VTI stems: see something (s.t.), kick s.t., take s.t.

VTI2 stems: use s.t., make s.t., bring s.t.

VTI3 stems (may be different in local language varieties): eat s.t., go get s.t., steal s.t.

VTI4 stems (may be different in local language varieties): have s.t., eat all of s.t.

VAI+O (may be different in local language varieties): sell s.t., drink s.t.

4. Transitive Animate Paradigm

VTA consonant stems: see someone (s.o.), allow s.o. to do s.t., know s.o.

VTA mutating stems: give it to s.o., leave s.o. behind, tie s.o.

VTA Cw-stems: strike s.o., shoot s.t. (animate), untie s.o.

VTA aw-stems: hear s.o., understand s.o., find s.o., make it for s.o.

VTA irregular stems (may be different in local language varieties): eat s.t. (animate), kill s.t. (animate), say so to s.o., mention s.o.'s name, put s.o. there, be afraid of s.o.

Cree Verb Charts

For the imperative order, you will need two charts for each sample stem – one for the immediate mode and one for the delayed mode. For the independent order, you will need four charts for each sample stem – one for each of the four modes (neutral, preterit, dubitative, and preterit dubitative). For the conjunct order, you will need four charts for each sample stem – one for each of the modes specified for the independent order – and an additional set of four charts for the subjunctive form of each mode. Additional charts may be prepared for relational verbs.

Stem Classes and Suggested Sample Stems

1. Animate Intransitive Paradigm

VAI i-stems: dance, laugh, get on board

VAI o-stems: sing, see oneself

VAI aa-stems: get off (disembark), sleep, leave

VAI e-stems: enter, go home, walk, go to a certain place

VAI ii-stems: flee

VAI n-stems: be lost, fall down, be lying down

VAI2 stems (with VTI class marker **-am**): go outside, cough, think so

2. Inanimate Intransitive Paradigm

VII long vowel stems: be big, be flat, be in a certain place

VII short vowel stems: be a good road, be a good liquid

VII n-stems: be difficult, taste good, fall down, be lost, be heavy

3. Transitive Inanimate Paradigm

VTI stems: see s.t., kick s.t., take s.t.

VTI2 stems: use s.t., make s.t., bring s.t.

4. Transitive Animate Paradigm

VTA consonant stems: see s.o., allow s.o. to do s.t., know s.o.

VTA mutating stems: call to s.o., leave s.o. behind

VTA Cw-stems: strike s.o., shoot s.t. (animate), untie s.o.

VTA aw-stems: hear s.o., understand s.o., find s.o., make it for s.o.

VTA irregular stems (may be different in local language varieties): eat s.t. (animate), say so to s.o., put s.o. there, be afraid of s.o., have s.o. (s.t. animate), accompany s.o.

Ojibwe Imperative Verb Charts

Codes

1	first-person singular	3	third-person singular	0	inanimate singular
2	second-person singular	3p	third-person plural	0p	inanimate plural
1p	first-person exclusive plural	3'	animate obviative	0'	inanimate obviative singular
21	first-person inclusive plural	3'p	animate obviative plural (Western Ojibwe only)	0'p	inanimate obviative plural
2p	second-person plural			X	indefinite subject
*	will appear only in some language varieties				

1. Animate intransitive

Mode: _____ **Sample Stem:** _____

Subject

2 .....

2p .....

21 .....

2. Transitive inanimate

Mode: _____ **Sample Stem:** _____

Object	**0/0p**	
Subject		
2	.....	
2p	.....	
Object	**0**	**0p**
Subject		
21	.....	.....

3. Transitive animate

Mode: _____ **Sample Stem:** _____

Object	3/3p	
Subject		
2	.....	
2p	.....	

Object	3	3p
Subject		
21	.....	.....

Object	3'	3'p
Subject		
2	.....	* .....
2p	.....	* .....
21	.....	* .....

Object	1	1p
Subject		
2	.....	
2p	.....	
2/2p		.....

Cree Imperative Verb Charts

Codes

1	first-person singular	3	third-person singular	0	inanimate singular
2	second-person singular	3p	third-person plural	0p	inanimate plural
1p	first-person exclusive plural	3'	animate obviative	0'	inanimate obviative singular
21	first-person inclusive plural			0'p	inanimate obviative plural
2p	second-person plural			X	indefinite subject

1. Animate intransitive

Mode: _____ **Sample Stem:** _____

Subject

2 .....

2p .....

21 .....

2. Transitive inanimate

Mode: _____ **Sample Stem:** _____

Object	**0/0p**
Subject	
2	.....
2p	.....
21	.....

3. Transitive animate

Mode: _____ **Sample Stem:** _____

Object	**3**	**3p**
Subject		
2	.....	.....
2p	.....	.....
21	.....	.....

Object	3'
Subject	
2	
2p	
21	

Object	1	1p
Subject		
2		
2p		
2/2p		

Ojibwe Independent Verb Charts

Codes

1	first-person singular	3	third-person singular	0	inanimate singular
2	second-person singular	3p	third-person plural	0p	inanimate plural
1p	first-person exclusive plural	3'	animate obviative	0'	inanimate obviative singular
21	first-person inclusive plural	3'p	animate obviative plural (Western Objibwe only)	0'p	inanimate obviative plural
2p	second-person plural			X	indefinite subject
*	will appear only in some language varieties				

1. Animate intransitive

Mode: _____ **Sample Stem:** _____

Subject

1 .....

2 .....

1p .....

21 .....

2p .....

3 .....

3p .....

3' .....

3'p * .....

X .....

2. Inanimate intransitive

Mode: _____ **Sample Stem:** _____

Subject

0 .....

0p .....

0' .....

0'p .....

3. Transitive inanimate

Mode: _____ **Sample Stem:** _____

Subject \ Object	0	0p
1		
2		
1p		
21		
2p		
3		
3p		
3'		

4. Transitive animate

Mode: _____ **Sample Stem:** _____

Direct

Subject \ Object	3	3p
1		
2		
1p		
21		
2p		

Object / Subject	3'	3'p
1		*
2		*
1p		*
21		*
2p		*

Object / Subject	3'	3'p
3		*
3p		*
3' *		*

Inverse

Subject / Object	3	3p
1		
2		
1p		
21		
2p		

Subject / Object	3'	3'p
3		*
3p		*

Me-object

Object / Subject	1	1p
2		
2p		
2/2p		

You-object

Subject	1	1p
Object		
2		
2p		

Indefinite subject

Subject	X
Object	
1	
2	
1p	
21	
2p	
3	
3p	
3'	
3'p *	

Inanimate subject

Subject	0	0p
Object		
1		
2		
1p		
21		
2p		
3		
3p		
3'		
3'p *		*

Cree Independent Verb Charts

Codes

1	first-person singular	3	third-person singular	0	inanimate singular
2	second-person singular	3p	third-person plural	0p	inanimate plural
1p	first-person exclusive plural	3'	animate obviative	0'	inanimate obviative singular
21	first-person inclusive plural			0'p	inanimate obviative plural
2p	second-person plural			X	indefinite subject
*	will appear only in some language varieties				

1. Animate intransitive

Mode: _____ **Sample Stem:** _____

Subject

1 .....

2 .....

1p .....

21 .....

2p .....

3 .....

3p .....

3' .....

X .....

2. Inanimate intransitive

Mode: _____ **Sample Stem:** _____

Subject

0 .....

0p .....

0' .....

0'p .....

3. Transitive inanimate

Mode: _____ **Sample Stem:** _____

Object / Subject	0/0p
1	
2	
1p	
21	
2p	
3	
3p	
3'	

4. Transitive animate

Mode: _____ **Sample Stem:** _____

Direct

Object / Subject	3	3p
1		
2		
1p		
21		
2p		

Object	3'
Subject	
1	
2	
1p	
21	
2p	

Object	3'
Subject	
3	
3p	
3' *	

Inverse

Subject	3	3p
Object		
1		
2		
1p		
21		
2p		

Subject	3'
Object	
3	
3p	

Me-object

Object	1	1p
Subject		
2		

Object	1/1p
Subject	
2p	

You-object

Subject	1	1p
Object		
2	.....	.....

Subject	1/1p
Object	
2p	.....

Indefinite subject

Subject	X
Object	
1	.....
2	.....
1p	.....
21	.....
2p	.....
3	.....
3p	.....
3'	.....

Inanimate subject

Subject	0/0p
Object	
1	.....
2	.....
1p	.....
21	.....
2p	.....
3	.....
3p	.....
3'	.....

Ojibwe Conjunct Verb Charts

Codes

1	first-person singular	3	third-person singular	0	inanimate singular
2	second-person singular	3p	third-person plural	0p	inanimate plural
1p	first-person exclusive plural	3'	animate obviative	0'	inanimate obviative singular
21	first-person inclusive plural	3'p	animate obviative plural (Western Ojibwe only)	0'p	inanimate obviative plural
2p	second-person plural			X	indefinite subject
*	will appear only in some language varieties				

1. Animate intransitive

Mode: _____ **Sample Stem:** _____

Subject

1 .....

2 .....

1p .....

21 .....

2p .....

3 .....

3p .....

3' .....

X .....

2. Inanimate intransitive

Mode: _____ **Sample Stem:** _____

Subject

0 .....

0p .....

0' * .....

0'p * .....

3. Transitive inanimate

Mode: _____ **Sample Stem:** _____

Object	0/0p
Subject	
1	
2	
1p	
21	
2p	
3	
3p	
3'	

4. Transitive animate

Mode: _____ **Sample Stem:** _____

Direct

Object	3	3p
Subject		
1		
2		
1p		
21		
2p		

Object	3'
Subject	
1	
2	
1p	
21	
2p	

Object	3'
Subject	
3	
3p	
3' *	
X	

Inverse (with some me- and you-object forms)

Subject	3	3p
Object		
1		
2		
1p		
21		
2p		

Subject	3'	
Object		
3		
3p		

Me-object

Object	1	1p
Subject		
2		
2p		
2/2p		

You-object

Subject	1	1p
Object		
2		
2p		

Indefinite subject

Subject	X
Object	
1	
2	
1p	
21	
2p	
3	
3p	
3'	

Inanimate subject

Subject	0/0p
Object	
1	
2	
1p	
21	
2p	
3	
3p	
3'	

Cree Conjunct Verb Charts

Codes

1	first-person singular	3	third-person singular	0	inanimate singular
2	second-person singular	3p	third-person plural	0p	inanimate plural
1p	first-person exclusive plural	3'	animate obviative	0'	inanimate obviative singular
21	first-person inclusive plural			0'p	inanimate obviative plural
2p	second-person plural			X	indefinite subject
*	will appear only in some language varieties				

1. Animate intransitive

Mode: _____ **Sample Stem:** _____

Subject

1 .....

2 .....

1p .....

21 .....

2p .....

3 .....

3p .....

3' .....

X .....

2. Inanimate intransitive

Mode: _____ **Sample Stem:** _____

Subject

0 .....

0p .....

0' .....

0'p .....

3. Transitive inanimate

Mode: _____ **Sample Stem:** _____

Object	**0/0p**
Subject	
1	
2	
1p	
21	
2p	
3	
3p	
3'	
X	

4. Transitive animate

Mode: _____ **Sample Stem:** _____

Direct

Object	**3**	**3p**
Subject		
1		
2		
1p		
21		
2p		

Object	3'
Subject	
1	
2	
1p	
21	
2p	

Object	3'
Subject	
3	
3p	
3' *	

***Inverse** (with some me- and you-object forms)*

Subject	3	3p
Object		
1		
2		
1p		
21		
2p		

Subject	3'
Object	
1	
2	
1p	
21	
2p	
3	
3p	

Me-object

Object	1	1p
Subject		
2	.....	.....

Object	1/1p
Subject	
2p	.....

You-object

Subject	1	1p
Object		
2	.....	.....

Subject	1/1p
Object	
2p	.....

Indefinite subject

Subject	X
Object	
1	.....
2	.....
1p	.....
21	.....
2p	.....
3	.....
3p	.....
3'	.....

Inanimate subject

Subject	0/0p
Object	
1	
2	
1p	
21	
2p	
3	
3p	
3'	

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